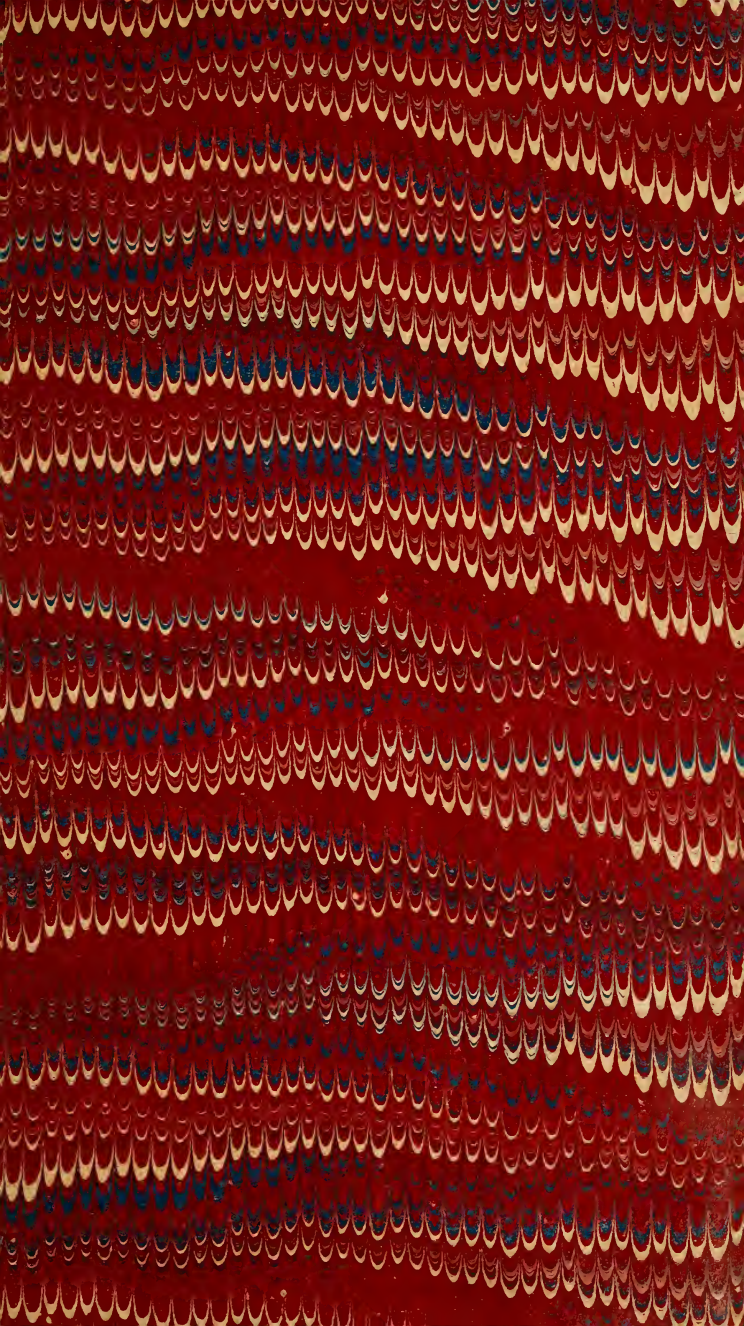


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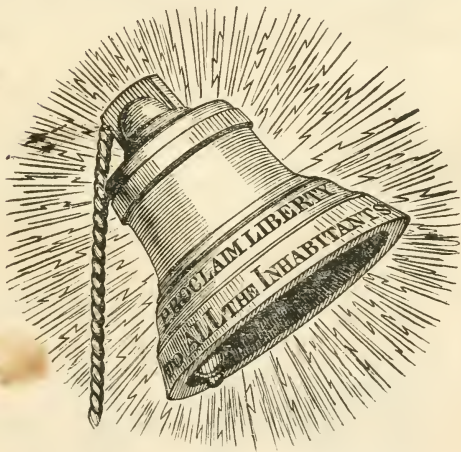


Yellow News

“LIBERTY.”



THE IMAGE AND SUPERScription ON EVERY COIN ISSUED
BY THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.



PROCLAIM LIBERTY THROUGHOUT ALL THE LAND UNTO ALL
THE INHABITANTS THEREOF.

THE INSCRIPTION ON THE BELL IN THE OLD PHILADELPHIA STATEHOUSE,
WHICH WAS RUNG JULY 4, 1776, AT THE SIGNING OF
THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

1839.



STANDARD



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“LIBERTY.”

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these, are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their powers from the just consent of the governed, &c. [See the whole declaration, signed by the delegates of all the original states, and adopted as the basis of all the State Constitutions.]

THE UNITED STATES' CONSTITUTION.

AMENDMENT. 1. Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and petition the government for a redress of grievances.

VIRGINIA.

The freedom of the press is one of the great bulwarks of liberty, and can never be restrained but by despotic governments.



Motto—"SO ALWAYS TO TYRANTS."

NEW YORK CONSTITUTION.

Every citizen may freely speak, write, and publish his sentiments on all subjects, being responsible for the abuse of that right; and no law shall be passed to restrain or abridge the liberty of speech, or of the press.

INDIANA.

There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in this state, otherwise than for the punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted. Nor shall any indenture of any negro or mulatto, hereafter made and executed out of the bounds of this state, be of any validity within this state.—[Ohio and Illinois are similar.]

THE SLAVE-TRADE DECLARED TO BE PIRACY BY
THE LAW OF THE UNITED STATES, 1820.

If any citizen of the United States, being of the crew or ship's company of any foreign ship or vessel engaged in the slave-trade, or any person whatever, being of the crew or ship's company of any ship or vessel owned in the whole or part, or navigated for, or in behalf of, any citizen or citizens of the United States, shall land, from any such ship or vessel, and on any foreign shore seize any negro or mulatto, not held to service or labor by the laws of either of the states or territories of the United States, with intent to make such negro or mulatto a slave, or shall decoy, or forcibly bring or carry, or shall receive such negro or mulatto on board any such ship or vessel, with intent as aforesaid, such citizen or person shall be adjudged a PIRATE, and on conviction thereof, before the circuit court of the United States, for the district wherein he may be brought or found, shall suffer DEATH.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

The benevolence of your heart, my dear Marquis, is so conspicuous on all occasions, that I never wonder at fresh proofs of it; but your late purchase of an estate in the colony of Cayenne, with a view of emancipating the slaves, is a generous and noble proof of your humanity. Would to God, a like spirit might diffuse itself generally into the minds of the people of this country! But I despair of seeing it. Some petitions were presented to the Assembly at its last session, for the abolition of slavery; but they could scarcely obtain a hearing.—*Letter to Lafayette.*

I hope it will not be conceived from these observations, that it is my wish to hold the unhappy people who are the subject of this letter, in slavery. I can only say, that there is not a man living, who wishes more sincerely than I do, to see a plan adopted for the abolition of it; but there is only one proper and effectual mode by which it can be accomplished, and that is, by the legislative authority; and this, as far as my suffrage will go, shall not be wanting.—*Letter to Robert Morris.*

I never mean, unless some particular circumstance should compel me to it, to possess another slave by purchase; *it being among my first wishes to see some plan adopted by which slavery in this country may be abolished by law.*—*Letter to John F. Mercer.*

Because there are, in Pennsylvania, laws for the gradual *abolition of slavery*, which neither Maryland nor Virginia have at present; but which nothing is more certain than that they must have, and at a period not remote.—[Reasons for depreciation of southern lands in a *letter to Sir John Sinclair.*]

CAMBRIDGE, February 28, 1776.

MISS PHILLIS,—Your favor of the 26th of October, did not reach my hands till the middle of December. Time enough, you will say, to have given an answer ere this. Granted. But a variety of important occurrences, continually interposing to distract the mind and withdraw the attention, I hope will apologize for the delay, and plead my excuse for the seeming, but not real neglect. I thank you most sincerely for your polite notice of me, in the elegant lines you enclosed; and however undeserving I may be of such encomium and panegyric, the style and manner exhibit a striking proof of your poetical talents; in honor of which, and as a tribute justly due to you, I would have published the poem, had I not been apprehensive, that, while I only meant to give the world this new instance of your genius, I might have incurred the imputation of vanity. This, and nothing else, determined me not to give it place in the public prints.

If you should ever come to Cambridge, or near head-quarters, I shall be happy to see a person so favored by the Muses, and to whom nature has been so liberal and beneficent in her dispensations. I am, with great respect, your obedient humble servant.—*Letter to Phillis Wheatley. [An African.]*

Observe good faith and justice towards all nations, cultivate peace and harmony with all; religion and morality enjoin this conduct; and can it be that good policy does not equally enjoin it? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and, at no distant period, a great nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence. Who can doubt that, in the course of time and things, the fruits of such a plan would richly repay any temporary advantages which might be lost by a steady adherence to it? Can it be, that Providence has not connected the permanent felicity of a nation with its virtue? The experiment, at least, is recommended by every sentiment which ennobles human nature. Alas! is it rendered impossible by its vices?—*Farewell Address.*

Upon the decease of my wife, it is my will and desire that all my slaves, which I hold in *my own right*, shall receive their freedom. To emancipate them during her life, would, though earnestly wished, be attended with such insuperable difficulties, on account of their intermixture by marriages with the dower negroes, as to create the most fearful sensation, if not disagreeable consequences from the latter, while both descriptions are in the occupancy of the same proprietor; it

not being in my power, under the tenure by which the dower negroes are held to manumit them. And, whereas, among those who will receive their freedom according to this clause, there may be some, who, from old age, or bodily infirmities, and others, who, on account of their infancy, will be unable to support themselves, it is my will and desire that all who come under the first and second descriptions, shall be comfortably clothed and fed by my heirs while they live; and that such of the latter description as have no parents living, or if living, are unable or unwilling to provide for them, shall be bound by the Court until they shall arrive at the age of twenty-five years: and in case where no record can be produced whereby their ages can be ascertained, the judgment of the Court upon its own view of the subject, shall be adequate and final. The negroes thus bound, are by their masters and mistresses to be taught to read and write, and to be brought up to some useful occupation, agreeably to the laws of the commonwealth of Virginia, providing for the support of orphans and other poor children. And I do hereby expressly forbid the sale or transportation out of the said commonwealth, of any slave I may die possessed of, under any pretence whatever. And I do, moreover, most pointedly and most solemnly enjoin it upon my executors, hereafter named, or the survivor of them, to see that this clause respecting slaves, and every part thereof be religiously fulfilled, at the epoch at which it is directed to take place, without evasion, neglect, or delay, after the crops which may then be on the ground are harvested. Particularly as it respects the aged and infirm, seeing that a regular and permanent fund be established for their support, as long as there are subjects requiring it, not trusting to the uncertain provisions to be made by individuals.—*Washington's Will.*

JOHN ADAMS.

The day is passed—the 4th of July, 1776, will be a memorable epocha in the history of America. It ought to be commemorated as the day of deliverance by solemn acts of devotion to Almighty God. It ought to be solemnized with pomp, shows, &c., from one end of the continent to the other, from this time forward for ever! You will think me transported with enthusiasm; but I am not. I am well aware of the toil, and blood, and treasure that it will cost to maintain this Declaration, and support and defend these states; yet through all the gloom, I can see the rays of light and glory.—I can see that the end is worth more than all the means; and that posterity will triumph although you and I may rue, which I hope we shall not.—*Letter, Philadelphia, July 5th, 1776.*

Great is Truth—great is Liberty—great is Humanity; and they must and will prevail.—*Letter to a friend.*

LAFAYETTE.

While I am indulging in my views of American prospects, and American liberty, it is mortifying to be told that in that very country, a large portion of the people are slaves! It is a dark spot on the face of the nation. Such a state of things cannot always exist.

I see in the papers, that there is a plan of gradual abolition of slavery in the district of Columbia. I would be doubly happy of it, for the measure in itself, and because a sense of American pride makes me recoil at the observations of the diplomatists, and other foreigners, who gladly improve the unfortunate existing circumstances into a general objection to our republican, and (saving that deplorable evil) our matchless system.

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

The whole commerce between master and slave is a perpetual exercise of the most boisterous passions; the most unremitting despotism on the one part and degrading submissions on the other. Our children see this and learn to imitate it; for man is an imitative animal. This quality is the germ of all education in him. From his cradle to his grave he is learning to do what he sees others do. If a parent could find no motive either in his philanthropy or his self-love, for restraining the intemperance of passion towards his slave, it should always be a sufficient one that his child is present. But generally it is not sufficient. The parent storms, the child looks on, catches the lineaments of wrath, puts on the same airs in the circle of smaller slaves, gives loose to his worst passions, and thus nursed, educated, and daily exercised in tyranny, cannot but be stamped by it with odious peculiarities. The man must be a prodigy who can retain his manners and morals undepraved by such circumstances. And with what execration should the statesman be loaded, who permitting one half the citizens thus to trample on the rights of the other, transforms those into despots, and these into enemies, destroys the morals of the one part, and the *amor patriæ* of the other. For if the slave can have a country in this world, it must be any other in preference to that in which he is born to live and labor for another: in which he must lock up the faculties of his nature, contribute as far as depends on his individual endeavors to the evanishment of the human race, or entail his own miserable condition on the endless generations proceeding from him. With the morals of the people, their industry also is destroyed. For in a warm climate no man will labor for himself who can make another labor for him. This is so true, that of the proprietors of slaves, a very small proportion indeed are ever seen to labor. And can the liberties of a nation be thought secure when we have removed their only firm basis, a conviction in the minds of the people that these liberties are of the gift of God? That they are not to be violated but with his wrath? Indeed, I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just; that his justice cannot sleep for ever; that considering numbers, nature, and natural means only, a revolution of the wheel of fortune, an exchange of situation, is among possible events: that it may become probable by supernatural interference! The Almighty has no attribute which can take side with us in such a contest.

What an incomprehensible machine is man! Who can endure toil, famine, stripes, imprisonment, and death itself, in vindication of his own liberty, and the next moment be deaf to all those motives whose

power supported him through his trial, and inflict on his fellow men a bondage, one hour of which is fraught with more misery than ages of that which he rose in rebellion to oppose. But we must wait with patience the workings of an overruling Providence, and hope that that is preparing the deliverance of these our suffering brethren. When the measure of their tears shall be full—when their tears shall have involved heaven itself in darkness—doubtless a God of justice will awaken to their distress, and by diffusing a light and liberality among their oppressors, or at length by his exterminating thunder manifest his attention to things of this world, and that they are not left to the guidance of blind fatality.—*Notes on Virginia.*

I am very sensible of the honor you propose to me, of becoming a member of the society for the abolition of the slave-trade. You know that nobody wishes more ardently to see an abolition, not only of the trade but of the condition of slavery; and certainly nobody will be more willing to encounter every sacrifice for that object. But the influence and information of the friends to this proposition in France will be far above the need of my association.—*Letter to M. Warrville, Paris, February, 1788.*

DEAR SIR,—Your favor of July 31st was duly received, and was read with peculiar pleasure. The sentiments breathed through the whole, do honor to both the head and heart of the writer. Mine, on the subject of the slavery of negroes, have long since been in possession of the public, and time has only served to give them stronger root. The love of justice and the love of country plead equally the cause of these people; and it is a moral reproach to us that they should have pleaded it so long in vain, and should have produced not a single effort,—nay, I fear, not much serious willingness to relieve them and ourselves from our present condition of moral and political reprobation.

It is an encouraging observation, that no good measure was ever proposed which, if duly pursued, failed to prevail in the end. We have proof of this in the history of the endeavors in the British Parliament to suppress that very trade which brought this evil on us. And you will be supported by the religious precept, “be not weary in well doing.” That your success may be as speedy and complete, as it will be honorable and immortal consolation to yourself, I shall as fervently and sincerely pray as I assure you of my great friendship and respect.—*Letter to Edward Cole, Esq., August 25, 1814.*

PREAMBLE TO THE PENNSYLVANIA ACT, 1780.

We conceive that it is our duty, and we rejoice that it is in our power, to extend a portion of that freedom to others which has been extended to us, and relieve from that state of thralldom, to which we ourselves were tyrannically doomed, and from which we have now every prospect of being delivered. It is not for us to inquire why, in the creation of mankind, the inhabitants of the different parts of the earth were distinguished by a difference of features and complexion. It is sufficient to know, that all are the work of an Almighty hand.

We find in the distribution of the human species, that the most fertile, as well as the most barren parts of the earth are inhabited by men of different complexions from ours, and from each other; from whence, we may reasonably, as well as religiously infer, that He, who placed them in their various situations, hath extended equally his care and protection to all, and that it becometh not us to counteract his mercies. We esteem it a peculiar blessing, granted to us, that we are this day enabled to add one more step to universal civilization, by removing, as much as possible, the sorrows of those who have lived in undeserved bondage, and from which, by the assumed authority of the kings of Great Britain, no effectual legal relief could be obtained. Weaned by a long course of experience from those narrow prejudices and partialities we had imbibed, we find our hearts enlarged with kindness and benevolence towards men of all conditions and nations; and we conceive ourselves, at this particular period, extraordinarily called upon by the blessing which we have received, to manifest the sincerity of our professions, and to give a substantial proof of our gratitude.

And whereas, the condition of those persons who have heretofore been denominated negro and mulatto slaves, has been attended with circumstances which not only deprived them of the common blessing they were by nature entitled to, but has cast them into the deepest afflictions, by an unnatural separation and sale of husband and wife from each other, and from their children; an injury, the greatness of which, can only be conceived by supposing that we were in the same unhappy case. In justice, therefore, to persons so unhappily circumstanced, and who, having no prospect before them, wherein they may rest their sorrows and their hopes, have no reasonable inducement to render the service to society which they otherwise might, and also, in grateful commemoration of our own happy deliverance from that state of unconditional submission, to which we were doomed by the tyranny of Britain. Be it enacted, That no child hereafter born shall be a slave, &c.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

UBI LIBERTAS, IBI PATRIA
Where Liberty dwells, there is my country.

Two other societies were also established in Philadelphia about this period, founded on the principles of the most refined humanity; one "*for alleviating the miseries of public prisons,*" and the other, "*for promoting the abolition of slavery, the relief of free negroes unlawfully held in bondage, and the improvement of the condition of the African race.*"—Of each of these, Dr. Franklin was president. He had as early as the year 1772, strongly expressed his abhorrence of the traffic in slaves, as appears by his letter of the 22d August, in that year, to Mr. Anthony Benezet, inserted in the first part of his *Private Correspondence*.

According to *Stuber's* account, Dr. Franklin's name, as president of the Abolition Society, was signed to the memorial presented to the House of Representatives of the United States, on the 12th of February, 1789, praying them to exert the full extent of power vested in

them by the Constitution, in discouraging the traffic of the human species. This was his last public act.—*Memoirs by Wm. Temple Franklin.*

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States :

From a persuasion that equal liberty was originally the portion, and is still the birthright of all men, and influenced by the strong ties of humanity and the principles of their institution, your memorialists conceive themselves bound to use all justifiable endeavors to loosen the bands of slavery, and promote a general enjoyment of the blessings of freedom. Under these impressions, they earnestly entreat your serious attention to the subject of slavery; that you will be pleased to countenance the restoration of liberty to those unhappy men, who alone in this land of freedom, are degraded into perpetual bondage, and who amidst the general joy of surrounding freemen, are groaning in servile subjection—that you will devise means for removing this inconsistency from the character of the American people—that you will promote mercy and justice toward this distressed race—and that you will step to the very verge of the power vested in you for discouraging every species of traffic in the persons of our fellow men.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, *President.*

Philadelphia, Feb. 3, 1790.

[*Federal Gazette, 1790.*]

BENJAMIN RUSH.

The [cruel] master's wealth cannot make him happy.—The sufferings of a single hour in the world of misery, for which he is preparing himself will over balance all the pleasures he ever enjoyed in this life—and for every act of unnecessary severity he inflicts on his slaves, he shall suffer tenfold in the world to come.

His unkind behaviour is upon record against him. The gentle spirits in heaven, whose happiness consists in expressions of gratitude and love, will have no fellowship with him. His soul must be melted with pity, or he can never escape the punishment which awaits the hard-hearted, equally with the impenitent, in the regions of misery.—*Paradise of Negro Slaves.*

About the year 1775, I read a short essay with which I was much pleased, in one of Bradford's papers, against the slavery of the Africans in our country, and which, I was informed, was written by Thomas Paine. This excited my curiosity to be better acquainted with him. We met soon afterwards at Mr. Aitkens' bookstore, where I did homage to his principles and his pen on the subject of the enslaved Africans. He told me it was the first piece he had ever published here.—I possess one of his letters written to me from France upon the subject of the abolition of the slave-trade.—*Letter to Cheetham, July 17, 1809.*

ANTHONY BENEZET.

I can with truth and sincerity declare, that I have found amongst the negroes as great variety of talents, as among a like number of whites; and I am bold to assert, that the notion entertained by some

that the blacks are inferior in their capacities, is a vulgar prejudice founded on the pride or ignorance of their lordly masters, who have kept their slaves at such a distance as to be unable to form a right judgment of them.

PATRICK HENRY.

Is life so dear, or peace so sweet, as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery? Forbid it, Almighty God!—I know not what course others may take; but as for me, give me liberty, or give me death!

HANOVER, *January 18, 1773.*

DEAR SIR,—I take this opportunity to acknowledge the receipt of Anthony Benezet's book against the slave-trade: I thank you for it. It is not a little surprising, that the professors of Christianity, whose chief excellence consists in softening the human heart; in cherishing and improving its finer feelings, should encourage a practice so totally repugnant to the first impressions of right and wrong. What adds to the wonder is, that this abominable practice has been introduced in the most enlightened ages. Times, that seem to have pretensions to boast of high improvements in the arts and sciences, and refined morality, have brought into general use, and guarded by many laws, a species of violence and tyranny, which our more rude and barbarous, but more honest ancestors, detested. Is it not amazing, that at a time, when the rights of humanity are defined and understood with precision, in a country, above all others, fond of liberty, that in such an age, and in such a country, we find men professing a religion the most humane, mild, gentle and generous, adopting a principle as repugnant to humanity, as it is inconsistent with the Bible, and destructive to liberty? Every thinking, honest man rejects it in speculation how few in practice from conscientious motives!

Would any one believe that I am master of slaves, of my own purchase! I am drawn along by the general inconvenience of living here without them. I will not, I cannot justify it. However culpable my conduct, I will so far pay my devoir to virtue, as to own the excellence and rectitude of her precepts, and lament my want of conformity to them.

I believe a time will come, when an opportunity will be offered to abolish, this lamentable evil. Every thing we can do is to improve it, if it happens in our day; if not, let us transmit to our descendants, together with our slaves, a pity for their unhappy lot, and our abhorrence for slavery. If we cannot reduce this wished for reformation to practice, let us treat the unhappy victims with lenity. It is the furthestmost advance we can make towards justice, it is a debt we owe to the purity of our religion, to show that it is at variance with that law, which warrants slavery. I know not where to stop. I could say many things on the subject; a serious view of which gives a gloomy perspective to future times!—*Letter to Robert Pleasants.*

I repeat it again, that it would rejoice my very soul that every one

of my fellow beings was emancipated. As we ought with gratitude to admire that decree of heaven, which has numbered us among the free, we ought to lament and deplore the necessity of holding our fellow men in bondage.—*Debate in Virginia Convention.*

JAMES MONROE.

We have found that this evil has preyed upon the very vitals of the Union ; and has been prejudicial to all the states in which it has existed.—*Speech in the Virginia Convention.*

JOHN JAY.

The state of New York is rarely out of my mind or heart, and I am often disposed to write much respecting its affairs ; but I have so little information as to its present political objects and operations, that I am afraid to attempt it.—An excellent law might be made out of the Pennsylvania one, for the gradual abolition of slavery. Till America comes into this measure, her prayers to heaven will be impious. This is a strong expression but it is just. Were I in your legislature, I would present a bill for the purpose with great care, and I would never cease moving it till it became a law, or I ceased to be a member. I believe God governs the world, and I believe it to be a maxim in his as in our court, that those who ask for equity ought to do it.—*Letter from Spain, 1780.*

Our society has been favored with your letter of the first of May last, and we are happy that efforts so honorable to your nation are making in your country to promote the cause of justice and humanity relative to the Africans. That they who know the value of liberty, and are blessed with the enjoyment of it, ought not to subject others to slavery, is like most other moral precepts, more generally admitted in theory than observed in practice. This will continue to be too much the case while men are impelled to action by their passions rather than by their reason, and while they are more solicitous to acquire wealth than to do as they would be done by. Hence it is that India and Africa experience unmerited oppression from nations who have been long distinguished by their attachment to their civil and religious liberties, but who have expended not much less blood and treasure in violating the rights of others than in defending their own. The United States are far from being irreproachable in this respect. It undoubtedly is very inconsistent with their declarations on the subject of human rights, to permit a single slave to be found within their jurisdiction ; and we confess the justice of your strictures on that head.—*Letter to an English Abolition Society from the Manumission Society of New York.*

JOEL BARLOW.

Nor shall I strain
The powers of pathos in a task so vain,
As Afric's wrongs to sing, for what avails
To harp for you these known familiar tales ;
To tongue mute misery, and re-rack the soul
With crimes oft copied from that bloody scroll,

Where slavery pens her woes, tho' 'tis but there
 We learn the weight that mortal life can bear.
 The tale might startle still the accustom'd ear,
 Still shake the nerve that pumps the pearly tear
 Melt every heart and through the nation gain
 Full many a voice to break the barbarous chain.
 But why to sympathy for guidance fly,
 (Her aid 's uncertain and of scant supply,)
 When your own self-excited sense affords
 A guide more sure, and every sense accords?
 Where strong self-interest join'd with duty lies,
 Where doing right demands no sacrifice,
 Where profit, pleasure, life expanding fame
 League their allurements to support the claim.
 'Tis safest there the impleaded cause to trust,
 Men well instructed will be always just.

Tyrants are never free, and small and great,
 All masters must be tyrants soon or late;
 So Nature works, and oft the lordling knave
 Turns out at once a tyrant and a slave.
 Struts, cringes, bullies, begs, as courtiers must,
 Makes one a God, another treads in dust,
 Fears all alike, and filches whom he can,
 But knows no equal, finds no friend in man.

Ah, would you not be slaves with lords and kings?
 Then be not masters, there the danger springs.

Equality of right is Nature's plan,
 And following nature is the march of man.—
 Enslave her tribes! What, half mankind emban,
 Then read, expound, enforce the rights of man!
 Prove plain and clear, how Nature's hand of old,
 Cast all men equal in her human mould!
 Their fibres, feelings, reasoning powers the same,
 Like wants await them, like desires inflame;
 Write, speak, avenge, for ancient sufferings feel,
 Impale each tyrant on their pens of steel,
 Declare how freemen can a world create,
 And slaves and masters ruin every state.—*The Columbiad.*

SAMUEL ADAMS.

“His principles on the subject of human rights, carried him far beyond the narrow limits which many loud asserters of *their own liberty* have prescribed to themselves, to the recognition of this right in every human being. One day the wife of Mr. Adams returning home, informed her husband that a friend had made her a present of a female slave. Mr. Adams replied in a firm decided manner, ‘*She may come but not as a slave, for a slave cannot live in my house; if she comes, she, must come free.*’ She came, and took up her *free* abode with the family of this great champion of American liberty, and there she *continued free* and there she *died free.*”—*Rev. Mr. Allen, Uxbridge, Mass.*

KOSCIUSKO.

General *Kosciusko*, by his will, placed in the hands of Mr. Jefferson a sum exceeding twenty thousand dollars, to be laid out in the purchase of young female slaves, who were to be educated and emancipated. The laws of Virginia prevented the will of *Kosciusko* from being carried into effect.—*Aurora, 1820.*

HORATIO GATES.

A few days ago, passed through this town, the Hon. General Gates and lady, on their way to take possession of their new and elegant seat on the banks of the East river. The general, previous to leaving Virginia, summoned his numerous family and slaves about him, and amidst their tears of affection and gratitude, gave them their freedom; and what is still better, made provision that their liberty should be a blessing to them.—*Baltimore paper, Sept. 8, 1790.*

WILLIAM PINKNEY.

SIR,—Iniquitous, and most dishonorable to Maryland, is that dreary system of partial bondage, which her laws have hitherto supported with a solicitude worthy of a better object, and her citizens by their practice countenanced.

Founded in a disgraceful traffic, to which the parent country lent her fostering aid, from motives of interest, but which even she would have disdained to encourage, had England been the destined mart of such inhuman merchandise, *its continuance is as shameful as its origin.*

Wherefore should we confine the edge of censure to our ancestors, or those from whom they purchased? Are not we **EQUALLY guilty?** *They* strewed around the seeds of slavery—we cherish and sustain the growth. *They* introduced the system—we enlarge, invigorate, and confirm it.

That the dangerous consequences of this system of bondage have not as yet been felt, does not prove they never will be. At least the experiment has not been sufficiently made to preclude speculation and conjecture. To me, sir, nothing for which I have not the evidence of my senses is more clear, than that it will one day destroy that reverence for liberty, which is the vital principle of a republic.

While a majority of your citizens are accustomed to rule with the authority of despots, within particular limits; while your youth are reared in the habit of thinking that the great rights of human nature are not so sacred but they may with innocence be trampled on, can it be expected that the public mind should glow with that generous ardor in the cause of freedom, which can alone save a government like ours from the lurking demon of usurpation? Do you not dread the contamination of principle?

The example of Rome shows that slaves are the proper, natural implements of usurpation, and therefore a serious and alarming evil in every free community. With much to hope for by a change, and nothing to lose, they have no fears of consequences. Despoiled of their rights by the acts of government and its citizens, they have no checks of pity, or of conscience, but are stimulated by the desire of revenge, to spread wide the horrors of desolation, and to subvert the foundation of that liberty of which they have never participated, and which they have only been permitted to envy in others.

But where slaves are manumitted by government, or in consequence of its provisions, the same motives which have attached them to tyrants,

when the act of emancipation has flowed from them, would then attach them to government. They are then no longer the creatures of despotism. They are bound by gratitude, as well as by interest, to seek the welfare of that country from which they have derived the restoration of their plundered rights, and with whose prosperity their own is inseparably involved. All apostacy from these principles, which form the good citizen, would, under such circumstances, be next to impossible.—*Speech in the Maryland House of Delegates, 1789.*

WARNER MIFFLIN.

In a pamphlet, entitled "*Observations on the American Revolution,*" published by order of Congress, in 1779, the following sentiments are declared to the world, viz :

"The great principle (of government) is and ever will remain in force, *that men are by nature free*; as accountable to him that made them, they must be so; and so long as we have any idea of divine justice, we must associate that of human freedom. Whether men can part with their liberty, is among the questions which have exercised the ablest writers; but it is concluded on all hands, that the right to be free can never be alienated—still less is it practicable for one generation to mortgage the privileges of another."

Humane petitions have been presented to excite in congress benevolent feelings for the sufferings of our fellow-citizens under cruel bondage to the Turks and Algerines, and that the national power and influence might be exerted for their relief; with this virtuous application I unite, but lament that any of my countrymen, who are distinguished as men eminently qualified for public stations, should be so enslaved by illiberal prejudice as to treat with contempt a like solicitude for another class of men still more grievously oppressed.

I profess freely and am willing my profession was known over the world, that I feel the calls of humanity as strong towards an African in America, as an American in Algiers, both being my brethren; especially as I am informed the Algerine treats his slave with more humanity; and I believe the sin of oppression on the part of the American is greatest in the sight of the Father of the family of mankind.

WARNER MIFFLIN.

Kent County, Delaware, 2d of 1st mo. 1793.

WILLIAM EATON.

[The Tunisians had captured nine hundred and twenty Sardinian slaves, of whom General Eaton thus makes mention:]

"Many have died of grief, and the others linger out a life less tolerable than death. Alas—remorse seizes my whole soul when I reflect, that this is indeed but a copy of the very barbarity which my eyes have seen in my own native country. And yet we boast of liberty and national justice. How frequently in the southern states of my own country, have I seen weeping mothers leading the guiltless infant to the sales with as deep anguish as if they led them to the slaughter;

and yet felt my bosom tranquil in the view of these aggressions on defenceless humanity. But when I see the same enormities practised upon beings whose complexions and blood claim kindred with my own, I curse the perpetrators, and weep over the wretched victims of their rapacity. Indeed, truth and justice demand from me the confession, that the Christian slaves among the barbarians of Africa, are treated with more humanity than the African slaves among professing Christians of civilized America; and yet here sensibility bleeds at every pore for the wretches whom fate has doomed to slavery."—*Letter to his wife.*

WILLIAM RAY.

Are you republicans?—away!
 'Tis blasphemy the word to say.
 You talk of freedom? Out for shame!
 Your lips contaminate the name.
 How dare you prate of public good,
 Your hands besnear'd with human blood?
 How dare you lift those hands to heav'n
 And ask or hope to be forgiven?
 How dare you breathe the wounded air,
 That wafts to heaven the negro's prayer!
 How dare you tread the conscious earth,
 That gave mankind an equal birth?
 And while you thus inflict the rod,
 How dare you say there is a God
 That will, in justice, from the skies,
 Hear and avenge his creature's cries?
 "Slaves to be sold," hark, what a sound!
 Ye give America a wound,
 A scar, a stigma of disgrace,
 Which you nor time can e'er efface,
 And prove, of nations yet unborn,
 The curse, the hatred, and the scorn!

The Horrors of Slavery, or Tars of Tripoli

CAPTAIN RILEY.

Strange as it may seem to the philanthropist, my free and proud-spirited countrymen still hold a million and a half of human beings in the most cruel bonds of slavery; who are kept at hard labor, and smarting under the lash of inhuman mercenary drivers; in many instances enduring the miseries of hunger, thirst, imprisonment, cold, nakedness, and even tortures. This is no picture of the imagination. For the honor of human nature, I wish likenesses were no where to be found! I myself have witnessed such scenes in different parts of my own country; and the bare recollection of them now chills my blood with horror.—*Riley's Narrative.*

DE WITT CLINTON.

During the period of his legislative career (1797,) a large portion of his attention was bestowed on the protection of the public health, the promotion of agriculture, manufactures, and the arts, the gradual abolition of slavery, &c.

The record of the proceedings of the senate of New York for the

sessions of 1809, 1810, and 1811, exhibits proofs of Mr. Clinton's great usefulness. Under his auspices, the New York Historical Society was incorporated—the Orphan Asylum and Free School Societies were fostered and encouraged. He introduced laws to prevent kidnapping, or the further introduction of slaves, and to punish those who should treat them inhumanly.—*De Witt Clinton's Life in Delaplaine's Repository.*

DANIEL D. TOMKINS.

To devise the means for the gradual and ultimate extermination from amongst us of slavery, that reproach of a free people, is a work worthy the representatives of a polished and enlightened nation.

Allow me here to observe, that the law which authorizes the transportation of slaves convicted of offences, is very generally considered impolitic and unjust. Impolitic, because it cherishes inducements in the master, to whom alone these unfortunate creatures can look for friendship and protection, to aggravate, to tempt, or to entrap the slave into an error—to operate upon his ignorance or his fears, to confess a charge, or to withhold from him the means of employing counsel for defence, or of establishing a reputation which is frequently the only shield against a criminal allegation. This inducement will be peculiarly strong, where the slave is of that description, the sale of which is prohibited; for a conviction will enable the master to evade that restriction, and to make a lucrative disposition of what might otherwise be a burthen to him. It is unjust, because transportation is added to the full sentence which may be pronounced upon others. To inflict less punishment for the crimes of those who have always breathed the air of freedom, who have been benefited by polished society, and by literary, moral, and religious instruction and example, than to the passions and frailties of the poor, untutored, unrefined, and unfortunate victims of slavery, is a palpable inversion of a precept of our blessed Redeemer. The servant "that knew not, and did commit things worthy of stripes, shall be beaten with few stripes; for unto whomsoever much is given, of him shall be much required."—*Speech to New York Legislature, Jan. 8, 1812.*

ANDREW JACKSON.

[On December, 18, 1814, GENERAL JACKSON issued in the French language the following.]

ADDRESS TO THE FREE PEOPLE OF COLOR.

Soldiers! When on the banks of the Mobile, I called you to take up arms, inviting you to partake the perils and glory of your white fellow-citizens, I expected much from you; for I was not ignorant that you possessed qualities most formidable to an invading enemy. I knew with what fortitude you could endure hunger and thirst, and all the fatigues of a campaign. I knew well how you loved your native country, and that you had, as well as ourselves, to defend what man holds most dear—his parents, relations, wife, children, and

property. You have done more than I expected. In addition to the previous qualities I before knew you to possess, I found, moreover, among you a noble enthusiasm, which leads to the performance of great things.

Soldiers! The President of the United States shall hear how praiseworthy was your conduct in the hour of danger, and the Representatives of the American people will, I doubt not, give you the praise your exploits entitle you to. Your general anticipates them in applauding your noble ardor.

The enemy approaches; his vessels cover our lakes; our brave citizens are united, and all contention has ceased among them. Their only dispute is who shall win the prize of valor or who the most glory, its noblest reward.

By Order.

THOMAS BUTLER, *Aid-de-camp.*

JOSEPH STORY.

The President of the United States, is also authorized to employ our armed vessels and revenue cutters to cruise on the seas for the purpose of arresting all vessels and persons engaged in this traffic in violation of our laws; and bounties as well as a moiety of the captured property are given to the captors to stimulate them in the discharge of their duty.

Under these circumstances, it might well be supposed that the slave-trade would in practice, be extinguished—that virtuous men would by their abhorrence, stay its polluted march, and wicked men would be overawed by its potent punishment. But unfortunately the case is far otherwise. We have but too many melancholy proofs from unquestionable sources, that it is still carried on with all the implacable ferocity and insatiable rapacity of former times. Avarice has grown more subtle in its evasion; and watches and seizes its prey with an appetite quickened, rather than suppressed, by its guilty vigils. American citizens are steeped up to their very mouths (I scarcely use too bold a figure) in this stream of iniquity. They throng the coast of Africa under the stained flags of Spain and Portugal, sometimes selling abroad “their cargoes of despair,” and sometimes bringing them into some of our southern ports, and there under the forms of the law defeating the purposes of the law itself, and legalizing their inhuman but profitable adventures. I wish I could say that New England and New England men were free from this deep pollution. But there is some reason, to believe, that they who drive a loathsome traffic, “and buy the muscles and the bones of men,” are to be found here also. It is to be hoped the number is small; but our cheeks may well burn with shame while a solitary case is permitted to go unpunished.—*From Judge Story's Charge to the Grand Jury of the U. S. Circuit Court, in Portsmouth, N. H., May Term, 1820.*

DANIEL WEBSTER.

If there be, within the extent of our knowledge and influence, any participation in this traffic in slaves, let us pledge ourselves upon the

Rock of Plymouth, to extirpate and destroy it. It is not fit that the land of the pilgrims should bear the shame longer. Let that spot be purified, or let it be set aside from the Christian world; let it be put out of the circle of human sympathies and human regards; and let civilized men henceforth have no communion with it.

I invoke those who fill the seats of justice, and all who minister at her altar, that they exercise the wholesome and necessary severity of the law. I invoke the ministers of our religion, that they proclaim its denunciation of those crimes, and add its solemn sanction to the authority of human laws. If the pulpit be silent, whenever or wherever there may be a sinner, bloody with this guilt, within the hearing of its voice, the pulpit is false to its trust.

NEW YORK LEGISLATURE.

On the 20th day of January, 1820, the following preamble and resolutions were taken up in the senate (having passed the house) of the New-York Legislature, and unanimously passed. [Mr. Van Buren, who was then in the senate of that state, voted in favor of them.]

Whereas, the inhibiting the further extension of slavery in the United States, is a subject of deep concern to the people of this state: and whereas, we consider slavery as an evil much to be deplored, and that every constitutional barrier should be interposed to prevent its further extension; and the constitution of the United States clearly gives congress the right to require new states, not comprised within the original boundary of the United States, to make the prohibition of slavery a condition of their admission into the Union: Therefore,

Resolved, (if the honorable senate concur therein) That our senators be instructed, and our members of congress be requested, to oppose the admission as a state into the Union, of any territory not comprised as aforesaid, without making the prohibition of slavery therein an indispensable condition of admission.

WILLIAM WIRT.

Slavery was contrary to the laws of nature and of nations and that the law of South Carolina, concerning seizing colored seamen, was unconstitutional. * * * * Last and lowest, a *feculum* of beings called overseers—the most abject, degraded, unprincipled race—always cap in hand to the dons who employ them, and furnishing materials for their pride, insolence, and love of dominion.—*Life of Patrick Henry.*

JOHN RANDOLPH.

Dissipation, as well as *power* or prosperity hardens the heart, but avarice deadens it to every feeling, but the thirst for riches. Avarice alone could have produced the slave-trade. Avarice alone can drive, as it does drive, this infernal traffic, and the wretched victims, like so many posthorses, whipped to death in a mail coach. Ambition has its cover-sluts, in the pride, pomp, and circumstance of glorious war; but where are the trophies of avarice? The handcuff, the manacle,

and the blood-stained cowhide! *What man is worse received in society for being a hard master? Who denies the hand of a sister or daughter to such monsters?*—nay, they have even appeared in “the abused shape of the vilest of women.” I say nothing of India or Amboyna—of Cortez, or Pizarro.—*Southern Literary Messenger.*

[In March, 1816, John Randolph submitted the following resolution to the House of Representatives:] “Resolved, That a committee be appointed, to inquire into the existence of an *inhuman* and illegal traffic of slaves, carried on in and through the District of Columbia, and to report whether any, and what measures are necessary for putting a stop to the same.”

“Virginia is so impoverished by the system of slavery, that the tables will sooner or later be turned, and the slaves will advertise for runaway masters.”

“Sir, I neither envy the head nor the heart of that man from the North, who rises here to defend slavery upon principle.”—*Rebuke of Edward Everett, in Congress, 1820.*

“3. I have upwards of two thousand pounds sterling in the hands of Baring, Brothers & Co., of London, and upwards of one thousand pounds of like money in the hands of Gowan and Marx; this money I leave to my executor, Wm. Leigh, as a fund for carrying into execution my will respecting my slaves.”

“I give to my slaves their freedom, to which my conscience tells me they are justly entitled. It has a long time been a matter of the deepest regret to me, that the circumstances under which I inherited them, and the obstacles thrown in the way by the laws of the land, have prevented my emancipating them in my lifetime, which it is my full intention to do in case I can accomplish it.”

The codicil goes on to make provision for his servants John and wife, and for Juba and his wife, and another woman:—“And I hereby request (says he) the General Assembly (the only request that I ever preferred to them,) to let the above named and such other of my old and faithful slaves as desire it, to remain in Virginia; recommending them each and all to the care of my said executor, who I know is too wise, just and humane to send them to Liberia, or any other place in Africa or the West Indies.”—*Cod. Jan. 1826.*

THOMAS JEFFERSON RANDOLPH.

I agree with gentlemen in the necessity of arming the state for internal defence. I will unite with them in any effort to restore confidence to the public mind, and to conduce to the sense of the safety of our wives, and our children. Yet sir, I must ask, upon whom is to fall the burden of this defence? not upon the lordly masters of their hundred slaves, who will never turn out except to retire with their families when danger threatens. No, sir; it is to fall upon the *less wealthy class of our citizens; chiefly upon the non-slaveholder.* I have known patrols turned out where *there was not a slaveholder among them,* and this is the practice of the country. I have slept in times of alarm quietly in bed, without having a thought of care, while these indi-

viduals, owning none of this property themselves, were patrolling under a compulsory process, for a pittance of seventy-five cents per twelve hours, the very curtilage of my house, and guarding that property, which was alike dangerous to them and myself. After all, this is but an expedient. As this population becomes more numerous, it becomes less productive. Your guard must be increased, until finally its profits will not pay for the expense of its subjection. Slavery has the effect of lessening the free population of a country.

The gentlemen has spoken of the increase of the female slaves being a part of the profit; it is admitted; but no great evil can be averted, no good attained, without some inconvenience. It may be questioned, how far it is desirable to foster and encourage this branch of profit. It is a practice, and an increasing practice in parts of Virginia, to rear slaves for market. How can an honorable mind, a patriot, and a lover of his country, bear to see this ancient dominion, rendered illustrious by the noble devotion and patriotism of her sons in the cause of liberty, converted in one grand menagerie, where men are to be reared for the market, like oxen for the shambles. Is it better, is it not worse, than the slave-trade; that trade which enlisted the labor of the good and wise of every creed, and every clime, to abolish it? The trader receives the slave, a stranger in language, aspect and manner, from the merchant who has brought him from the interior. The ties of father, mother, husband and child, have all been rent in twain; before he receives him, his soul has become callous. But here, sir, individuals, whom the master has known from infancy, whom he has seen sporting in the innocent gambols of childhood, who have been accustomed to look to him for protection, he tears from the mother's arms, and sells into a strange country, among strange people, subject to cruel taskmasters.

He has attempted to justify slavery here, because it exists in Africa, and has stated that it exists all over the world. Upon the same principle, he could justify Mahometism, with its plurality of wives, petty wars for plunder, robbery and murder, or any other of the abominations and enormities of savage tribes. Does slavery exist in any part of civilized Europe? No sir, in no part of it.—*Speech in the Virginia Legislature.*

GOVERNOR RANDOLPH.

The deplorable error of our ancestors in copying a civil institution from savage Africa, has affixed upon their posterity a depressing burden, which nothing but the extraordinary benefits conferred by our happy climate, could have enabled us to support. We have been far outstripped by states, to whom nature has been far less bountiful. It is painful to consider what might have been, under other circumstances, the amount of general wealth in Virginia, or the whole sum of comfortable subsistence and happiness possessed by all her inhabitants.—*Address to the Legislature of Virginia, in 1820.*

HENRY CLAY.

As a mere laborer, the slave feels that he toils for his master, and not for himself; that the laws do not recognise his capacity to acquire and hold property, which depends altogether upon the pleasure of his proprietor, and that all the fruits of his exertions are reaped by others. He knows that, whether sick or well, in times of scarcity or abundance, his master is bound to provide for him by the all-powerful influence of self-interest. He is generally, therefore, indifferent to the adverse or prosperous fortunes of his master, being contented if he can escape his displeasure or chastisement, by a careless and slovenly performance of his duties.

That labor is best, in which the laborer knows that he will derive the profits of his industry, and his employment depends upon his diligence, and his reward upon his assiduity. He then has every motive to excite him to exertion, and to animate him in perseverance. He knows that if he is treated badly, he can exchange his employer for one who will better estimate his service; and that whatever he earns is *his*, to be distributed by himself as he pleases, among his wife and children, and friends, or enjoyed by himself. In a word, he feels that he is a free agent, with rights, and privileges, and sensibilities.

Wherever the option exists to employ, at an equal hire, free or slave labor, the former will be decidedly preferred, for the reasons already assigned. It is more capable, more diligent, more faithful, and in every respect more worthy of confidence.

It is believed that nowhere in the *farming* portion of the United States would slave labor be generally employed, if the proprietor were not tempted to raise slaves by the high price of the southern market, which keeps it up in his own.

[Speaking of an attempt more than thirty-five years ago, to adopt gradual emancipation in Kentucky, Mr. Clay says:]

We were overpowered by numbers, and submitted to the decision of the majority with the grace which the minority, in a republic, should ever yield to such a decision. I have nevertheless never ceased, and never shall cease, to regret a decision, the effects of which have been, to place us in the rear of our neighbors, who are exempt from slavery, in the state of agriculture, the progress of manufactures, the advance of improvement, and the general prosperity of society.—*Address before the Colonization Society.*

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

Not three days since, Mr. Clayton, of Georgia, called that species of population (*viz.* slaves) the machinery of the South. Now that machinery had twenty odd representatives* in that hall,—not elected by the machinery, but by those who owned it. And if he should go back to the history of this government from its foundation, it would be easy to prove that its decisions had been affected, in general by less

[* There are now twenty-five *odd* representatives—that is, representatives of slaves.]

majorities than that. Nay, he might go further, and insist that that very representation had ever been, in fact, *the ruling power of this government.*

The history of the Union has afforded a continual proof that this representation of property, which they enjoy, as well in the election of President and Vice President of the United States, as upon the floor of the House of Representatives, has secured to the slaveholding states the entire control of the national policy, and, almost without exception, the possession of the highest executive office of the Union. Always united in the purpose of regulating the affairs of the whole Union by the standard of the slaveholding interest, their disproportionate numbers in the electoral colleges have enabled them, in ten out of twelve quadriennial elections, to confer the Chief Magistracy upon one of their own citizens. Their suffrages at every election, without exception, have been almost exclusively confined to a candidate of their own caste.—*Speech in Congress, Feb. 4, 1833.*

GENERAL DUFF GREEN.

We are of those who believe the South has nothing to fear from a servile war. We do not believe that the abolitionists intend, nor could they, if they would, excite the slaves to insurrection. The danger of this is remote. We believe that we have most to fear from the organized action upon the consciences and fears of slaveholders themselves; from the insinuations of their dangerous heresies into our schools, our pulpits, and our domestic circles. It is only by alarming the consciences of the weak and feeble, and diffusing among our own people a morbid sensibility on the question of slavery, that the abolitionists can accomplish their object. *Preparatory to this*, they are now laboring to saturate the non-slaveholding states with the belief that slavery is a sin against God; that the "national compact" involves the non-slaveholders in that sin; and that it is their duty to toil and suffer, that our country may be delivered from what they term its blackest stain, its foulest reproach, its deadliest curse.—*Southern Review.*

JOSEPH RITNER.

Last, but worst of all, came the base bowing of the knee to the dark spirit of slavery.

For the preservation of this last and most cherished article of our national political creed, the sacrifice of which has not yet been completed, it is our duty to make all possible effort.

To ascertain what have been, nay, what are the doctrines of the people, of this state, on the subject of domestic slavery, reference need only be made to the statute book and journals of the legislature. They will be found imprinted in letters of light upon almost every page. In 1, Smith's Laws, 493, is found an "act for the gradual abolition of slavery in Pennsylvania," with a preamble which should be printed in letters of gold. This is the first act of the kind passed in any part of the Union, and was nobly put forth to the world, in the year 1780,

in the midst of the struggle for national freedom. This just doctrine was, through a long course of years, adhered to and perfected, till slavery ceased in our state. And finally, in 1827, the following open avowal of the state doctrine, was prefaced to the act "to prevent certain abuses of the laws relative to fugitives from labor." "The traffic in slaves, now abhorred by all the civilized world, ought not in the slightest degree to be tolerated in the state of Pennsylvania."—*Pamphlet Laws, page 485.*

Not only has Pennsylvania thus expelled the evil from her own borders, but she has on all proper occasions, endeavored to guard her younger sisters from the pollution. On the 19th of December, 1819, the following language was unanimously made use of by the legislature, and approved of by the governor, on the question of admitting new states into the Union, with the right of holding slaves.

"That the senators and representatives of this state, in the congress of the United States, be, and they are hereby requested to vote against the admission of any territory as a state into the Union, unless the further introduction of slavery or involuntary servitude, except for the punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall be prohibited, and all children born within the said territory after its admission into the Union as a state, shall be free, but may be held to service until the age of twenty-five years."

The preamble to this resolution, too long to be cited at large, is worthy of all consideration at the present juncture.

On the much discussed question of slavery in the District of Columbia, there never has been any thing like hesitation. On the 23d of January, 1819, the legislature passed a resolution instructing our representatives in congress to advocate the passage of a law for its abolition; and the voice of public opinion, as expressed through the press, at meetings, and in petitions, has been unchanging on the subject.

These tenets, then, viz: opposition to slavery at home, which, by the blessing of Providence, has been rendered effectual; opposition to the admission into the Union of new slaveholding states; and opposition to slavery in the District of Columbia, the very hearth and domestic abode of the national honor—have ever been, and are the cherished doctrines of our state. Let us fellow-citizens, stand by and maintain them unshrinkingly and fearlessly. While we admit and scrupulously respect the constitutional rights of other states, on this momentous subject, let us not, either by fear or interest, be driven from aught of that spirit of independence and veneration for freedom, which has ever characterized our commonwealth.

Above all, let us never yield up the right of free discussion of any evil which may arise in the land or any part of it; convinced that the moment we do so, the bond of union is broken. For the union being a voluntary compact to continue together for certain specified purposes, the instant one portion of it succeeds in imposing terms and dictating conditions upon another, not found in the contract, the relation between them changes, and that which was union becomes subjection.—*Message to Pennsylvania Legislature, 1836.*

TEXAS AND MEXICO.

But the prime cause, and the real object of this war, are not distinctly understood by a large portion of the honest, disinterested, and well-meaning citizens of the United States. Their means of obtaining correct information upon the subject have been necessarily limited; and many of them have been deceived and misled by the misrepresentations of those concerned in it, and especially by hireling writers of the newspaper press. They have been induced to believe that the inhabitants of Texas were engaged in a legitimate contest for the maintenance of the sacred principles of liberty, and the natural, inalienable rights of man:—whereas, the motives of its instigators, and their chief incentives to action, have been, from the commencement of a directly opposite character and tendency. *It is susceptible of the clearest demonstration, that the immediate cause, and the leading object of this contest, originated in a settled design, among the slaveholders of this country, (with land speculators and slave-traders,) to wrest the large and valuable territory of Texas from the Mexican Republic, in order to re-establish the SYSTEM OF SLAVERY; to open a vast and profitable SLAVE MARKET therein; and ultimately to annex it to the United States.* And further, it is evident—nay, it is very generally acknowledged—that the insurrectionists are principally citizens of the United States, who have proceeded thither *for the purpose of revolutionizing the country; and that they are dependant upon this nation, for both the physical and pecuniary means, to carry the design into effect.* Whether the national legislature will lend its aid to this most unwarrantable, aggressive attempt, will depend on the VOICE OF THE PEOPLE, expressed in their primary assemblies, *by their petitions and through the ballot boxes.*

The land speculations, aforesaid, have extended to most of the cities and villages of the United States, the British colonies in America, and the settlements of foreigners in all the eastern parts of Mexico. All concerned in them are aware that a change in the government of the country *must take place, if their claims should ever be legalized.*

The advocates of slavery, in our southern states and elsewhere, want more land on this continent suitable for the culture of sugar and cotton: and if Texas, with the adjoining portions of Tamaulipas, Coahuila, Chihuahua, and Santa Fe, east of the Rio Bravo del Norte, can be wrested from the Mexican government, room will be afforded for the redundant slave population in the United States, even to a remote period of time.

Such are the motives for action—such the combination of interests—such the organization, sources of influence, and foundation of authority, upon which the present *Texas Insurrection* rests. The resident colonists compose but a small fraction of the party concerned in it. The standard of revolt was raised as soon as it was clearly ascertained that slavery could not be perpetuated, nor the illegal speculations in land continued, under the *government* of the Mexican Republic. The Mexican authorities were charged with acts of oppression, while the true causes of the revolt—the motives and designs of the insurgents

—were studiously concealed from the public view. Influential slaveholders are contributing money, equipping troops, and marching to the scene of conflict. The land speculators are fitting out expeditions from New York and New Orleans, with men, munitions of war, provisions, &c., to promote the object. The Independence of Texas is declared, and the system of slavery, as well as the slave-trade (with the United States,) is fully recognized by the government they have set up. Commissioners are sent from the colonies and agents are appointed here, to make formal application, enlist the sympathies of our citizens, and solicit aid in every way that it can be furnished. The *hireling presses* are actively engaged in promoting the success of their efforts, by misrepresenting the character of the Mexicans, issuing inflammatory appeals, and urging forward the ignorant, the unsuspecting, the adventurous, and the unprincipled, to a participation in the struggle.

Under the erroneous construction of the treaty with Mexico, General Gaines was authorized to cross the boundary line with his army; to *march seventy miles* into the Mexican territory; and to occupy the military post of Nacogdoches, *in case he should judge it expedient in order to guard against Indian depredations!* And further; he was likewise authorized to call upon the governors of several of the *south-western states* for an additional number of troops, *should he consider it necessary.*

From the Pensacolo Gazette.

“About the middle of last month, General Gaines sent an officer of the United States army into Texas to reclaim some deserters. He found them already enlisted in the Texian service to the number of *two hundred*. They still wore the uniform of our army, but refused, of course, to return. The commander of the Texian forces was applied to, to enforce their return; but his only reply was, that the soldiers might go, but he had no authority to send them back. This is a new view of our Texian relations.”

The following decrees and ordinances are translated from an official compilation by authority of the government of MEXICO.

Extract from the Law of October 14th, 1823.

Article 21. Foreigners who bring slaves with them, shall obey the Laws established upon the matter, or which shall hereafter be established.

DECREE OF JULY 13, 1824.

Prohibition of the Commerce and Traffic in Slaves.

The Sovereign General Constituent Congress of the United Mexican States has held it right to decree the following:

1. The commerce and traffic in slaves, proceeding from whatever power, and under whatever flag, is forever prohibited, within the territories of the United Mexican States.

2. The slaves, who may be introduced contrary to the tenor of the preceding article, shall remain free in consequence of treading the Mexican soil.

3. Every vessel, whether national or foreign, in which slaves may be transported and introduced into the Mexican territories, shall be confiscated with the rest of its cargo—and the owner, purchaser, captain, master, and pilot, shall suffer the punishment of ten years' confinement.

The *Constitution of Coahuila and Texas*, promulgated on the 11th of March, 1827, also contains this important article :

“13. In this state no person shall be born a slave after this Constitution is published in the capital of each district, and six months thereafter, neither will the introduction of slaves be permitted under any pretext.”

[Translated from page 149, Vol. V, Mexican Laws.]

DECREE OF PRESIDENT GUERRERO.

Abolition of Slavery.

The President of the United Mexican States, to the inhabitants of the Republic—

Be it known: That in the year 1829, being desirous of signaling the anniversary of our Independence by an act of national Justice and Beneficence, which may contribute to the strength and support of such inestimable welfare, as to secure more and more the public tranquility, and reinstate an unfortunate portion of our inhabitants in the sacred rights granted them by nature, and may be protected by the nation, under wise and just laws, according to the provision in article 30 of the Constitutive act; availing myself of the extraordinary faculties granted me, I have thought proper to decree :

1. That slavery be exterminated in the republic.
2. Consequently those are free, who, up to this day, have been looked upon as slaves.
3. Whenever the circumstances of the public treasury will allow it, the owners of slaves shall be indemnified, in the manner which the laws shall provide.

Mexico, 15th Sept. 1829, A. D.

JOSE MARIA de BOCANEGRA.

[Translation of part of the law of April 6th, 1830, prohibiting the migration of citizens of the United States to Texas.]

ART. 9. On the northern frontier, the entrance of foreigners shall be prohibited, under all pretexts whatever, unless they be furnished with passports, signed by the agents of the republic, at the places whence they proceed.

ART. 10. There shall be no variation with regard to the colonies already established, nor with regard to the slaves that may be in them; but the general government, or the particular state government, shall take care, under the strictest responsibility, that the colonization laws be obeyed, and that NO MORE SLAVES BE INTRODUCED.

COLONIZATION LAWS OF COAHUILA AND TEXAS.

ART. 35. The new settlers, in regard to the introduction of slaves, shall be subject to laws which now exist, and which shall hereafter be made on the subject.

ART. 36. The servants and laborers which, in future, foreign colonists shall introduce, shall not, by force of any contract whatever, remain bound to their service a longer space of time than ten years.

Given in the city of Leona Vicario, 28th April, 1832.

JOSE JESUS GRANDE, *President*.

In the course of my observations, I have several times asserted, that it was the intention of the insurrectionists to establish and perpetuate the system of slavery, by "constitutional" provision. In proof of this, I now quote several paragraphs from the "CONSTITUTION" which they lately adopted. This extract is taken from that part under the head of "General Provisions," and embraces all that relates to slavery.

TEXAS CONSTITUTION.

SEC. 8. All persons who shall leave the country for the purpose of evading a participation in the present struggle, or shall refuse to participate in it, or shall give aid or assistance to the present enemy, shall forfeit all rights to citizenship, and such lands as they may hold, in the republic.

SEC. 9. All persons of color, who were slaves for life previous to their emigration to Texas, and who are now held in bondage, shall remain in the like state of servitude, provided the said slave shall be the bona fide property of the person so holding said slave as aforesaid. Congress shall pass no laws to prohibit emigrants from the United States of America from bringing their slaves into the republic with them, and holding them by the same tenure by which such slaves were held in the United States; nor shall congress have the power to emancipate slaves; nor shall any slaveholder be allowed to emancipate his or her slave or slaves, without the consent of congress, unless he or she shall send his or her slave or slaves without the limits of the republic. No free person of African descent, either in whole or in part, shall be permitted to reside permanently in the republic, without the consent of congress; and the importation or admission of Africans or negroes into this republic, excepting from the United States of America, is for ever prohibited and declared to be piracy.

SEC. 10. All persons, (*Africans, and the descendants of Africans, and Indians excepted,*) who were residing in Texas on the day of the Declaration of Independence, [a great portion of the *native Mexican citizens* are, of course, *excluded,*] shall be considered citizens of the republic, and entitled to all the privileges of such. All citizens now living in Texas, who have not received their portion of land in like manner as colonists, shall be entitled to their land in the following proportion and manner: Every head of a family shall be entitled to one league and "labor" of land, and every single man of the age of seventeen and upwards, shall be entitled to one third part of one league of land.

The period has indeed arrived—**THE CRISIS IS NOW**—when the wise, the virtuous, the patriotic, the philanthropic of this nation, must examine, and reflect, and *deeply ponder* the momentous subject under consideration. Already we see the newspaper press in some of the free states, openly advocating the system of slavery, with all its outrages and abominations. Individuals occupying influential stations in the community at large, also countenance and encourage it, and even instigate the vile rabble to oppose, maltreat, and trample on the necks of those who *dare* to plead the cause of the oppressed. At the ensuing session of our national congress, the great battle is to be fought, that must decide the question now at issue, and perhaps even *seal the fate of this republic*. The senators and representatives of the people will then be called on to sanction the independence of Texas, and also, to provide for its admission, as a **SLAVEHOLDING STATE**, into this Union. These measures will positively be proposed, in case the Mexican government fails to suppress the insurrection very soon, and to recover the actual possession of the territory. A few of our most eminent statesmen will resist the proposition with energy and zeal; but unless the **PUBLIC VOICE** be raised against the unhallowed proceeding, and the sentiments of the people be most unequivocally expressed in the loudest tones of disapprobation, they will be unable to withstand the influence and power of their antagonists. Arouse, then! and let your voice be heard through your primary assemblies, your legislative halls, and the columns of the periodical press, in every section of your country!

Citizens of the United States!—Sons of the Pilgrims, and disciples of Wesley and Penn!—Coadjutors and pupils of Washington, Jefferson, and Franklin!—Advocates of freedom and the sacred "*rights of man!*"—Will you longer shut your eyes, and slumber in apathy, while the demon of oppression is thus stalking over the plains consecrated to the genius of liberty, and fertilized by the blood of her numerous martyrs?—Will you permit the authors of this gigantic project of national aggression, interminable slavery, and Heaven-daring injustice, to perfect their diabolical schemes through your supineness, or with the sanction of your acquiescence? If they succeed in the accomplishment of their object, where will be your guarantee for the liberty which you, yourselves enjoy? When the advocates of slavery shall obtain the balance of power in this confederation; when they shall have corrupted a few more of the aspirants to office among you, and opened an illimitable field for the operations of your heartless land-jobbers and slave-merchants, (to secure their influence in effecting the unholy purposes of their ambition,) how long will you be able to resist the encroachments of their tyrannical influence, or prevent them from usurping and exercising *authority* over you? **ARISE IN THE MAJESTY OF MORAL POWER**, and place the seal of condemnation upon this flagrant violation of national laws, of human rights, and the eternal, immutable principles of justice.—*National Enquirer of Philadelphia.*

JOHN Q. ADAMS.

During the late war with Great Britain, the military and naval commanders of that nation, issued proclamations inviting the slaves to repair to their standards, with promises of freedom and of settlement in some of the British colonial establishments. This, surely, was an interference with the institution of slavery in the states. By the treaty of peace, Great Britain stipulated to evacuate all the forts and places in the United States, without carrying away any slaves. If the government of the United States had no authority to interfere, *in any way*, with the institution of slavery in the states, they would not have had the authority to require this stipulation. It is well known that this engagement was not fulfilled by the British naval and military commanders; that, on the contrary, they did carry away all the slaves whom they had induced to join them, and that the British government inflexibly refused to restore any of them to their masters; that a claim of indemnity was consequently instituted in behalf of the owners of the slaves, and was successfully maintained. All that series of transactions was an interference by congress with the institution of slavery in the states in one way—in the way of protection and support. It was by the institution of slavery alone, that the restitution of slaves enticed by proclamations into the British service could be claimed as *property*. But for the institution of slavery, the British commanders could neither have allured them to their standard, nor restored them otherwise than as liberated prisoners of war. But for the institution of slavery, there could have been no stipulation that they should not be carried away as property, nor any claim of indemnity for the violation of that engagement.

But the war power of congress over the institution of slavery in the states is yet far more extensive. Suppose the case of a servile war, complicated, as to some extent it is even now, with an Indian war; suppose congress were called to raise armies; to supply money from the whole Union to suppress a servile insurrection: would they have no authority to interfere with the institution of slavery? The issue of a servile war *may* be disastrous. By war, the slave may emancipate himself; it may become necessary for the master to recognise his emancipation, by a treaty of peace; can it, for an instant, be pretended that congress, in such a contingency, would have no authority to interfere with the institution of slavery, *in any way*, in the states? Why, it would be equivalent to saying, that congress have no constitutional authority to make peace.

I suppose a more portentous case, certainly within the bounds of possibility.—I would to God I could say not within the bounds of probability. You have been, if you are not now, at the very point of a war with Mexico—a war, I am sorry to say, so far as public rumor is credited, stimulated by provocations on our part from the very commencement of this Administration down to the recent authority given to General Gaines to invade the Mexican territory. It is said, that one of the earliest acts of this Administration, was a proposal made at a time when there was already much ill-humor in Mexico against the

United States, that she should cede to the United States a very large portion of her territory—large enough to constitute nine states equal in extent to Kentucky. It must be confessed, that, a device better calculated to produce jealousy, suspicion, ill-will, and hatred, could not have been contrived. It is further affirmed, that this overture, offensive in itself, was made precisely at the time when a swarm of colonists from these United States were covering the Mexican border with land-jobbing, and with slaves, introduced in defiance of the Mexican laws, by which slavery had been abolished throughout that republic. The war now raging in Texas is a Mexican civil war, and a war for the re-establishment of slavery where it was abolished. It is not a servile war, but a war between slavery and emancipation, and every possible effort has been made to drive us into the war, on the side of slavery.

And again I ask, what will be your *cause* in such a war? Aggression, conquest, and the re-establishment of slavery, where it has been abolished. In that war, sir, the banners of *freedom* will be the banners of Mexico; and your banners, I blush to speak the word, will be the banners of slavery.

And how complicated? Your Seminole war is already spreading to the Creeks, and, in their march of desolation, they sweep along with them your negro slaves, and put arms into their hands to make common cause with them against you, and how far will it spread, sir, should a Mexican invader, with the torch of liberty in his hand, and the standard of freedom floating over his head, proclaiming emancipation to the slave, and revenge to the native Indian, as he goes, invade your soil? What will be the condition of your states of Louisiana, of Mississippi, of Alabama, of Arkansas, of Missouri, and of Georgia? Where will be your negroes? Where will be that combined and concentrated mass of Indian tribes, whom, by an inconsiderate policy, you have expelled from their widely distant habitations, to embody them within a small compass on the very borders of Mexico, as if on purpose to give that country a nation of natural allies in their hostilities against you? Sir, you have a Mexican, an Indian, and a negro war upon your hands, and you are plunging yourself into it blindfold; you are talking about acknowledging the independence of the republic of Texas, and you are thirsting to annex Texas, ay, Coahuila, and Tamaulipas, and Santa Fe, from the source to the mouth of the Rio Bravo, to your already over-distended dominions. Five hundred thousand square miles of the territory of Mexico would not even now quench your burning thirst for aggrandizement.

Great Britain may have no serious objection to the independence of Texas, and may be willing enough to take her under her protection, as a barrier both against Mexico and against you. But, as aggrandizement to you she will not readily suffer it; and, above all, she will not suffer you to acquire it by conquest and the re-establishment of slavery. Urged on by the irresistible, overwhelming torrent of public opinion, Great Britain has recently, at a cost of one hundred millions of dollars, which her people have joyfully paid, abolished slavery throughout all her colonies in the West Indies. After setting such an example, she will

not—it is impossible that she should—stand by and witness a war for the re-establishment of slavery; where it had been for years abolished, and situated thus in the immediate neighborhood of her islands. She will tell you, that if you must have Texas as a member of your confederacy, it must be without the trammels of slavery, and if you will wage a war to handcuff and fetter your fellow-man, she will wage the war against you to break his chains. Sir, what a figure, in the eyes of mankind, would you make, in deadly conflict with Great Britain: she fighting the battles of emancipation, and you the battles of slavery; she the benefactress, and you the oppressor of human kind! In such a war, the enthusiasm of emancipation, too, would unite vast numbers of her people in aid of the national rivalry, and all her natural jealousy against our aggrandizement. No war was ever so popular in England, as that war would be against slavery, the slave-trade, and the Anglo-Saxon descendant from her own loins.

As to the annexion of Texas to your confederation, for what do you want it? Are you not large and unwieldy enough already? Do not two millions of square miles cover enough for the insatiate rapacity of your land-jobbers? I hope there are none of them within the sound of my voice. Have you not Indians enough to expel from the land of their fathers' sepulchres, and to exterminate? What, in a prudential and military point of view, would be the addition of Texas to your domain? It would be weakness and not power. Is your southern and southwestern frontier not sufficiently extensive? not sufficiently feeble? not sufficiently defenceless? Why are you adding regiment after regiment of dragoons to your standing army? Why are you struggling, by direction and by indirection, to raise *per saltum* that army from less than six to more than twenty thousand men?

A war for the restoration of slavery, where it has been abolished, if successful in Texas, must extend over all Mexico; and the example will threaten Great Britain with imminent danger of a war of colors in her own islands. She will take possession of Cuba and Porto Rico, by cession from Spain, or by the batteries from her wooden walls; and if you ask her by what authority she has done it, she will ask you, in return, by what authority you have extended your seacoast from the Sabine to the Rio Bravo. She will ask you a question more perplexing namely—by what authority you, with freedom, independence, and democracy upon your lips, are waging a war of extermination to forge new manacles and fetters, instead of those which are falling from the hands and feet of man. She will carry emancipation and abolition with her in every fold of her flag; while your stars, as they increase in numbers, will be overcast with the murky vapors of oppression, and the only portion of your banners visible to the eye, will be the blood-stained stripes of the task-master?

Little reason have the inhabitants of Georgia and Alabama to complain that the government of the United States has been remiss or neglectful in protecting them from Indian hostilities; the fact is directly the reverse. The people of Alabama and Georgia are now suffering the recoil of their own unlawful weapons. Georgia, sir, Georgia, by trampling upon the faith of our national treaties with the

Indian tribes, and by subjecting them to her state laws, first set the example of that policy which is now in the process of consummation by this Indian war, in setting this example, she bade defiance to the authority of the government of the nation; she nullified your laws; she set at naught your executive guardians of the common constitution of the land. To what extent she carried this policy, the dungeons of her prisons and the records of the Supreme Judicial Court of the United States can tell. To those prisons she committed inoffensive, innocent, pious ministers of the gospel of truth, for carrying the light, the comforts, and the consolations of that gospel to the hearts and minds of these unhappy Indians. A solemn decision of the Supreme Court of the United States pronounced that act a violation of your treaties and your laws. Georgia defied that decision; your executive government never carried it into execution; the imprisoned missionaries of the gospel were compelled to purchase their ransom from perpetual captivity, by sacrificing their rights as freemen to the meekness of their principles as Christians; and you have sanctioned all these outrages upon justice, law, and humanity, by succumbing to the power and the policy of Georgia, by accommodating your legislation to her arbitrary will; by tearing to tatters your old treaties with the Indians, and by constraining them, under *peine forte et dure*, to the mockery of signing other treaties with you, which, at the first moment when it shall suit your purpose, you will again tear to tatters and scatter to the four winds of heaven, till the Indian race shall be extinct upon this continent, and it shall become a problem, beyond the solution of antiquaries and historical societies, *what* the red man of the forest was.

[The Arms on the coin of the MEXICAN REPUBLIC, are FREEDOM'S Eagle destroying the Serpent—Tyranny; and its reverse bears the Cap of LIBERTY, diffusing its radiance *universally*.]



MORAL MAP OF THE UNITED STATES.



MORAL MAP OF U.S.

JAN. 1837.

Slavery is a dark spot on the face of the nation. - La Fayette.

THE LONDON PATRIOT.

The British public ought to be made aware of what is going on at present in Texas; of the true cause and the true nature of the contest between the Mexican authorities and the American slave-jobbers.

Texas has long been the Naboth's vineyard of brother Jonathan. For twenty years or more, an anxiety has been manifested to push back the boundary of the United States' territory, of which the Sabine river is the agreed line, so as to include the rich alluvial lands of the delta of the Colorado, at the head of the Gulf of Mexico. There are stronger passions at work, however, than the mere lust of territory—deeper interests at stake. Texas belongs to a republic which has abolished slavery; the object of the Americans is to convert it into a slaveholding state; not only to make it a field of slave cultivation, and a market for the Maryland slave-trade, but, by annexing it to the Federal Union to strengthen in congress the preponderating influence of the southern slaveholding states.

This atrocious project is the real origin and cause of the pretended contest for Texian independence—a war, on the part of the United States, of unprovoked aggression for the vilest of all purposes.—*July 6, 1836.*

WILLIAM B. REED.

One of the complaints made by the Texians is that the Mexican government will not permit the introduction of slaves, and one of the first fruits of independence and secure liberty (unnatural as is the paradox) will be the extension of slavery, and both the domestic and foreign slave-trade, over the limits of a territory large enough to form five states as large as Pennsylvania. Such being the result what becomes of any real or imaginary balance between the South and the North—the slaveholding and non-slaveholding interests? Five or more slaveholding states, with their additional representation, thoroughly imbued with southern feeling, thoroughly attached to what the South Carolina resolutions now before us, call “the patriarchal institution of domestic slavery,” added to the Union, and where is the security of the North, and of the interests of free labor?—These are questions worth considering—the more so, as the war fever which is now burning in the veins of this community, and exhibiting itself in all the usual unreflecting expressions of sympathy and resentment, has disturbed the judgment of the nation, and distorted every notion of right and wrong. Let the Texians win independence as they can. That is their affair, not ours. But let no statesman that loves his country think of admitting such an increment of slaveholding population into this Union. He (Mr. R.) could not but fear that there was a deep laid plan to admit Texas into the Union, with a view to an increase of slaveholding representation in congress; and while he viewed it in connexion with the growing indifference perceptible in some quarters, he could not but feel melancholy forebodings.—*Speech in the Pennsylvania House of Representatives, June 11th, 1836.*

The following document, considering the avouched character of the gentlemen whose names are signed to it, and attest its truth, is entitled to a place in our columns:—*National Intelligencer*.

TO THE PUBLIC.

We will not dwell upon the false assurances made to us by men *professing* to be the accredited agents of Texas in this country. At a time when the cause of Texas was dark and gloomy, when Santa Anna seemed designed to carry desolation over the whole country, those men were prodigal of promises, and professing to be authorized to speak in the name of the Texian Government, made assurances of ultimate remuneration, which they knew at the time to be false, and which time proved to be so.

We now state that our personal observation and undoubted information enabled us fully to perceive, 1st. That the present population of Texas seemed wholly incapable of a just idea of civil and political liberty, and that, so far as the extension of *liberal principles* is concerned, it is of but little moment whether Mexico or Texas succeed in the struggle.

2d. That the mass of the people, from the highest functionary of their pretended government to the humblest citizen (with but few exceptions,) are animated alone by a desire of *plunder*, and appear totally indifferent whom they plunder, friends or foes.

3d. That even now there is really no organized government in the country, no laws administered, no judiciary, a perpetual struggle going on between the civil and military departments, and neither having the confidence of the people, or being worthy of it.

These facts and others sufficiently demonstrate to us that the cabinet was deficient in all the requisites of a good government, and that no one in his senses would trust himself, his reputation, or his fortunes, to their charge or control. Charged with *treason, bribery, and usurpations*, weak in their councils, and still weaker in power to enforce their orders, we perceived at once that we must look for safety and proper inducements elsewhere. We then turned our eyes to the army, and a scene still more disheartening presented itself; undisciplined, and without an effort to become so; not a roll called, nor a drill; no regular encampment; no authority nor obedience; with plundering parties for self-emolument, robbing private individuals of their property. We could see nothing to induce us to embark our fortunes and destinies with them. With these views and facts, we could but sicken and wonder at the vile deceptions which had been practised upon us; yet we are told that this people had risen up in their might to vindicate the cause of civil and religious liberty. It is a mockery of the very name of liberty. They are stimulated by *that motive* which such men can only appreciate—the *hope of plunder*. They are careless of the form of government under which they live, if that government will tolerate licentiousness and disorder. Such is a brief, but we sincerely believe, a faithful picture of a country to which we were invited with so much assiduity, and such the manner in which we were received and treated.

We might multiply facts in support of each proposition here laid down, to show the miserable condition of things in Texas, and the utter impossibility that a man of honor could embark in such a cause with such men. Should it be rendered necessary, we may yet do so; but for the present we will pause with this remark, that if there be any, now, in Kentucky, whose hearts are animated with the desire of an honorable fame, or to secure a competent settlement for themselves or families, they must look to some other theatre than the plains of Texas. We would say to them, Listen not to the deceitful and hypocritical allurements of LAND SPECULATORS, *who wish you to fight for their benefit, and who are as liberal of promises as they are faithless in performance.* We are aware of the responsibility which we incur by this course. We are aware that we subject ourselves to the misrepresentations of hired agents and unprincipled landmongers; but we are willing to meet it all, relying upon the integrity of our motives and the correctness of our course.

EDWARD J. WILSON,
G. L. POSTLETHWAITE.

Lexington, Sept. 10, 1836.

NEW-YORK SUN.

Extract from General Houston's letter to General Dunlap of Nashville—

"For a portion of this force we must look to the United States. It cannot reach us too soon. There is but one feeling in Texas, in my opinion, and that is to establish the independence of Texas, and to be attached to the United States."

Here, then, is an open avowal by the commander-in-chief of the Texian army, that American troops will be required to seize and sever this province of the Mexican republic, for the purpose of uniting it to ours; and this avowal is made by a distinguished American citizen, in the very face of that glorious constitution of his country, which wisely gives no power to its citizens for acquiring foreign territory by conquest, their own territory being more than amply sufficient to gratify any safe ambition; and in the face, too, of the following solemn and sacred contract of his country with the sister republic which he would dismember:

"There shall be a firm, inviolable, and universal peace, and a true and sincere friendship between the United States of America, and the United Mexican States, in all the extent of their possessions and territories, between their people and citizens respectively, without distinction of persons or places."

In the earlier days of our republic, when a high-minded and honorable fidelity to its constitution was an object proudly paramount to every mercenary consideration that might contravene it, an avowed design of this kind against the possessions of a nation with whom the United States were at peace, would have subjected its author, if a citizen, to the charge of high treason, and to its consequences. When Aaron Burr and his associates were supposed to meditate the conquest

of Mexico, and attempted to raise troops in the southern states to achieve it, they were arrested for treason, and Burr, their chief, was tried for his life. But now, behold! the conquest of a part of the same country is an object openly proclaimed, not in the letters of General Houston alone, but by many of our wealthiest citizens at public banquets, and by the hireling presses in the chief cities of our Union. The annexation of a foreign territory to our own by foreign conquest, being thus unblushingly avowed, and our citizens, who are integral portions of our national sovereignty, being openly invited and incited to join the crusade with weapons of war, it becomes an interesting moral inquiry—what is there in the public mind to excuse or even to palliate so flagrant a prostitution of national faith and honor in these days, any more than in the days that are past? The answer is ready at hand, and is irrefutable. An extensive and well organized gang of swindlers in Texas lands, have raised the cry, and the standard of “Liberty!” and to the thrilling charm of this glorious word, which stirs the blood of a free people, as the blast of the bugle arouses every nerve of the warhorse, have the generous feelings of our citizens responded in ardent delusion. But, as the Commercial Advertiser truly declares, “Never was the Goddess of American liberty invoked more unrighteously;” and we cannot but believe that the natural sagacity, good sense, and proud regard for their national honor, for which our citizens are distinguished in the eyes of all nations, will speedily rescue them from the otherwise degrading error in which that vile crew of mercenary hypocritical swindlers would involve them. The artful deceivers, however, have not relied upon the generosity and noble sympathy only of our fellow citizens, for they insidiously presented a bribe to excite their cupidity also.

NEUTRALITY!

Next the Texian revolution. Was it not laughable to see these Texians, all of them, generally speaking, slaveholders; adhering to the constitution of 1824, one article of which emancipates all the slaves in Mexico! Was it not laughable to see them proclaiming a constitution, of which, eleven years ago, the Americans in Texas had prohibited the proclamation by the Mexican authorities there, under the heaviest threats!—What man of common sense can believe in this *humbug*? None, gentlemen; none but those that have risked their thousands in this country; and they, whoever they may be, feign to believe it. The statements made throughout the United States, of tyranny and oppression on the part of Mexico toward the American citizens in Texas, are slanderous falsehoods, fabricated to create and nurture the worst prejudices and jealousies. The Americans in Texas have had their own way in every case, and on every occasion; and whenever there happened a legislative act that was, from any cause, repugnant to the feelings of the people of Texas, it was silenced at once. In short, if there has existed a good cause of complaint in Texas, it was that men were too much their own masters, and too little under the restraint of any law. Any allegation to the effect that the Mexican government had deceived citizens of the United States in relation to

promises of lands first made to them, is false, and I defy any one to show a forfeiture of title to lands, *when the conditions of the grant had been fulfilled by the settler.*

Now, sir, as to the war: here I will ask Americans, (except the speculators,) how many military incursions, insurrections, and rebellions, avowedly for the purpose of snatching Texas from its proper owners, will, in their mind, justify Mexico in driving from its territories, the pirates that would thus possess themselves of the country? Be it remembered, that these revolutions have never been attempted by the resident citizens of Texas, but in every case by men organized in the United States for the purpose and coming from afar: why, a single provocation of this nature were ample justification; but Texas has, from the time of the adjustment of the boundary by Wilkinson and Ferrara, experienced seven or eight.

The Americans (I mean the regulars) and Texians, appear to understand each other perfectly. The neutrality is preserved on the part of General Gaines, by allowing all volunteers, and other organized corps destined for Texas, to pass in hundreds and thousands undisturbed, but keeps in check any attempt on the part of the native Mexicans and Indians, to act against the Texians. The Texians are allowed to wage war against a friendly power, in a district of country claimed by the United States. The prisoners of war taken by the Texians are ignorant to which party they are subject. The American general claims the country only from Mexico, but has no objections to the carrying on of war against Mexico in the district he claims! Pray, sir, let Americans speak honestly, and let them say whether any government has, within the last century, placed itself in so ridiculous a light?—not only ridiculous, but contemptible. Will not any honest man confess at once that General Gaines, or any authority clothing him with the discretion so indiscreetly used, would never have dreamed of the like against a government able and ready to defend itself, and punish such arrogance? What is Europe to say to this? Will not Mexico complain? And will there be no sympathy for her?—*Letter to the Editors of the New-York Commercial Advertiser, dated Nacogdoches, Texas, September 14, 1836.*

[Alas, for our national degeneracy and infamy;—In 1811, the suspicion of being accessory to this horrible outrage against the laws of nature, and of nations, led a to distinct charge in the trial for treason of]

GENERAL WILKINSON.

CHARGE V.—That he, the said James Wilkinson, while commanding the army of the United States, by virtue of his said commission, and being bound by the duties of his office to do all that in him lay, to discover and to frustrate all such enormous violations of the law as tended to endanger the peace and tranquillity of the United States, did, nevertheless, unlawfully combine and conspire to set on foot a military expedition against the territories of a nation, then at peace with the United States.

Specification, He, the said James Wilkinson, in the years 1805 and

1806, combining and conspiring with Aaron Burr and his associates, to set on foot a military expedition against the Spanish provinces and territories in America.—*Wilkinson's Memoirs, Vol. II.*

THE AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE AND TEXAS.

By a treaty between Great Britain and Spain, for the suppression of the slave-trade, concluded in 1817, the British government was authorized to appoint commissioners to reside in Cuba, who, with Spanish commissioners, were to form a court for the adjudication of such ships as might be seized with slaves actually on board.

The British commissioners from time to time make reports to their government, which are laid before Parliament, and published by their direction.

The following are extracts from a report, dated 1st January, 1836.

“Never since the establishment of this mixed commission, has the slave-trade of the Havana reached such a disgraceful pitch as during the year 1835. By the list we have the honor to enclose, it will be seen that fifty slave vessels have safely arrived in this port during the year just expired. In 1833, there were twenty-seven arrivals, and in 1834, thirty-three; but 1835 presents a number, by means of which there must have been landed upwards of fifteen thousand negroes.

“In the spring of last year an American agent from Texas purchased in the Havana two hundred and fifty newly imported Africans, at two hundred and seventy dollars a head, and carried them away with him to that district of Mexico—having first procured from the American Consul here certificates of their freedom. This, perhaps, would have been scarcely worth mentioning to your lordship, had we not learned, that within the last six weeks, considerable sums of money have been deposited by the American citizens in certain mercantile houses here, for the purpose of making additional purchases of bozal negroes for Texas. According to the laws of Mexico, we believe such Africans are free, whether they have certificates of freedom or not; but we doubt much whether this freedom will be more than nominal under their American masters, or whether the whole system may not be founded on some plan of smuggling them across the frontier of the slave states of the Union. However this may be, a great impulse is thus given to this illicit traffic of the Havana; and it is not easy for us to point out to government what remonstrances ought to be made on the subject since the American settlers in Texas are almost as independent of American authority as they are of Mexico. These lawless people will doubtless, moreover assert, that they buy negroes in the Havana with a view to their ultimate emancipation. We thought the first experiment to be of little consequence—but now that we perceive fresh commissions arriving in the Havana for the purchase of Africans, we cannot refrain from calling your lordship's attention to the fact, as being another cause of the increase of the slave-trade in the Havana.”

The foregoing throws light on the following recent article in the Albany Argus:—

"The fate of Henry Bartow, late of the Commercial Bank of this city, has been at length definitely ascertained. The agent sent out by the bank has returned, and states that Bartow died at Marianne, near Columbia, in Texas, on the 30th of June last, of the fever of the country, after an illness of about four weeks. He had purchased a farm on the Brassos, and, in company with a native of the country, had commenced an extensive plantation, and sent \$10,000 to Cuba for the purchase of slaves.

We grant that Texas would present us an immense territory of rich soil, and would be another brilliant star in our standard. On the other hand she would give us her quarrel with Mexico—add to our unwieldy slave incumbrance—and give the balance of power to the southern and southwestern states. We much question whether the United States should ever add more states to the confederacy. Already we are rent by the fiercest internal dissension. The North and South, the East and West, have their local feelings—which are becoming more strong and definite every day. As it is, we are in constant and hourly danger of splitting. The time must come ultimately, and when it does it will be with terrible power. Why then should we burthen ourselves with still another local interest that must tend rapidly to hasten this result?

But another strong reason against such an annexation is the fact that it is a slaveholding country. The northern people differ relative to the expediency of interfering with this subject; but they all admit that it is an evil, dangerous to our safety as a nation. It is universally acknowledged that the slave population may ultimately become unmanageable by rapid increase; and when it does we may expect to see re-enacted the fearful, blood-curdling scenes of the West Indies. It is obvious, therefore, it would be highly inapoltitic to add such a slave market as Texas to the Union.—*Detroit Spectator*.

Were any further proof wanting to convince those at all conversant with the subject, that Texas will speedily become a great slave mart, the following article from the *Liberia Herald*, will furnish it. We have proved, time and again, by the most indubitable testimony, (and the fact should be kept constantly before the people,) that the great cause which led to the rupture between the inhabitants of Texas and the mother country, was a determination on their part to traffic in slaves, which is strictly forbidden by the constitution of Mexico. How northern men, therefore, who profess to be opposed to slavery, can with any degree of consistency lend their influence in behalf of Texas, is more than can be accounted for. The fact is, they are not opposed to slavery; and we unhesitatingly declare, that every one who has taken the pains to inform himself of the first causes of the Texian insurrection, is at heart a slaveholder, if he is in any manner aiding the cause of the insurgents. By "defending Texas," he is "upholding" and virtually justifying the enslavement of his brother, and his cry of *liberty*, is the very quintessence of hypocrisy.

Shall Texas be admitted into the Union? That is the question

now. Her independence has already been recognized by our government; but it is yet to be decided whether this nation is to be cursed with an extension of its slave territory. What say you, freemen of the North? Shall Texas be admitted into the Union? Will you willingly hug a viper to your own bosoms? There is but one alternative left you—inundate congress, at its next session, with remonstrances against the admission of Texas, or you sign at once the death warrant of American freedom.

Efforts are already being made for the admission of Florida as a slaveholding state. Should these efforts prove successful—but may heaven forbid it!—should Texas also be admitted, the slaveholding states would outnumber the free states—there being already thirteen slave to thirteen free states. And Texas alone is sufficiently large for, and probably will ultimately be divided into, some six or eight states. The liberty of the free states would exist only in name, were they to be outnumbered by the slave states. In such an event, a darker cloud would hang over the United States than ever did before: and wo to that “fanatic” who might then talk of the abolition of slavery, even in the District of Columbia! We might then expect to see all the horrors of slavery—horrors to which those of the French revolution bear but a feeble comparison—visited upon the heads of all who might dare to raise their voice in behalf of their down-trodden colored brethren!

Shall Texas be admitted into the Union? We again ask. Freemen, will you willingly submit to the manacles of slavery? If you would not, arouse from your slumbers, and thunder in the ears of the tyrants who are already forging chains for you and your children, your determination still to be free.—*From the American Citizen.*

Slave Trade.—We have learned that great calculations are already making by slavers on the coast, on the increased demand and advanced price of slaves which it is confidently anticipated will take place on the erection of Texas into an independent government. It has been rumored that offers have been made by a commercial house in New Orleans, to a slaver on the coast, for a certain number of slaves, to be delivered in a specified period; and the only circumstance which prevented the consummation of the bargain was, that the slaver refused to be responsible for the slaves after they should be put on board. These facts, we think are important to be known, as the christian and philanthropic world may learn from them what they are upholding when they are defending Texas.—*Liberia Herald.*

DANIEL WEBSTER.

But when we come to speak of admitting new states, the subject assumes an entirely different aspect. Our rights and our duties are then both different.

The free states, and all the states, are then at liberty to accept, or to reject. When it is proposed to bring new members into this political partnership, the old members have a right to say on what terms

such new members are to come in, and what they are to bring along with them. In my opinion, the people of the United States will not consent to bring a new, vastly extensive, a slaveholding country, large enough for half a dozen or a dozen states, into the Union. In my opinion they ought not to consent to it. Indeed I am altogether at a loss to conceive, what possible benefits any part of this country can expect to derive from such annexation. All benefit, to any part is at least doubtful and uncertain; the objections obvious, plain, and strong. On the general question of slavery, a great portion of the community is already strongly excited. The subject has not only attracted attention as a question of politics, but it has struck a far deeper toned chord. It has arrested the religious feelings of the country; it has taken strong hold on the consciences of men. He is a rash man, indeed, little conversant with human nature, and especially has he a very erroneous estimate of the character of the people of this country, who supposes that a feeling of this kind is to be trifled with, or despised. It will assuredly cause itself to be respected. It may be reasoned with, it may be made willing, I believe it is entirely willing to fulfil all existing engagements, and all existing duties, to uphold and defend the constitution, as it is established, with whatever regrets about some provisions, which it does actually contain. But to coerce it into silence,—to endeavor to restrain its free expression, to seek to compress and confine it, warm as it is and more heated as such endeavors would inevitably render it,—should all this be attempted, I know nothing even in the constitution, or in the Union itself, which would not be endangered by the explosion which might follow.

I see, therefore, no political necessity for the annexation of Texas to the Union; no advantages to be derived from it; and objections to it, of a strong, and in my judgment, decisive character.—*Address in Niblo's Garden, 1837.*

WILLIAM JAY.

Fellow citizens, a crisis has arrived in which we must maintain our rights, or surrender them for ever. I speak not to abolitionists alone, but to all who value the liberty of our fathers achieved. Do you ask what we have to do with slavery?—Let our muzzled presses answer—let the mobs excited against us by merchants and politicians answer—let the gag laws threatened by our governors and legislatures answer, let the conduct of the National Government answer. In 1826, Mexico and Columbia being at war with Spain, proposed carrying their armies into Cuba, a Spanish colony. These republics had abolished slavery within their own limits, and it was feared that if they conquered Cuba they would give LIBERTY to the thousands there enchained. And what did our liberty-loving government do? Why they sent on special messengers to Panama to threaten our sister republics with WAR if they dared to invade Cuba. Nor was this all; a minister was sent to Spain, and ordered to urge upon the Spanish monarch the policy of making peace with his revolted colonies, lest if the war continued, nearly a million of human beings should recover and enjoy the

rights of man. What have we to do with slavery? Is it nothing that nineteen Senators were found to vote for a bill establishing in every post town a censorship of the press, and that a citizen of New York gave a casting vote in favor of the abomination, and has received as his reward, the office of President of the United States? Is it nothing that our own representatives have spurned our petitions at the mandate of slaveholders? What have we to do with slavery? Look at the loathsome community, just sprung into being on our southern border, the progeny of treason and robbery, a vile republic, organized for the express purpose of re-establishing slavery on a soil from which it had been lately expelled; and providing for its perpetual continuance by constitutional provisions, and daring to insult us, with the offer of a monopoly of its trade in human flesh.—Yet northern speculators and politicians in conjunction with slaveholders, are now plotting to compel us to receive this den of scorpions into our bosom, to admit Texas into our confederacy, with a territory capable of furnishing eight or nine more slave states, and by thus giving to the enemies of human rights, an overwhelming majority in congress, to subject this northern country to the dominion of the South; and perhaps before long, to cause the crack of the whip and the clank of chains to re-echo on our hills, and our fields to be polluted with the blood and tears of slaves. To effect a speedy union with Texas, endeavors are now making to involve us in a war with Mexico, and when the unholy alliance shall have been consummated, then farewell to republican freedom, to christian morals, to happiness at home, or to respect abroad. This fair land, once the glory of all lands, will become a bye word, a reproach, and a hissing to all people, and we and our children will be taught by bitter experience, what the North had to do with slavery.—*Address, July 4, 1837.*

THE BRITISH PARLIAMENT.

TEXAS.

MR. BARLOW HOY rose to call the attention of the House to the present state of affairs in the Texas.—The importance of that territory was well known to all who were acquainted with its geographical position. Mr. Huskisson, aware that the United States would be desirous to annex the Texas to their territory, laid it down as a maxim, that Great Britain should on no account allow America to extend her boundary in the direction of Mexico.—It was notorious that an enormous importation of slaves took place into the Texas, and if this system were allowed to continue, all the sums which we had expended in endeavoring to suppress the traffic in slaves would have been thrown away. If we did not co-operate with Mexico in endeavouring to preserve the Texas for Mexico, and thus to prevent the importation of slaves into the Mexican territory, we had better at once withdraw our fleet from the coast of Africa, and abandon Sierra Leone. The United States, appeared to be acting a faithless part; they kept the boundary question open both with respect to Mexico and Great Britain. If they had not some sinister motive for keeping the question

open, it ought to have been settled long since, as it would have been, if the United States had accepted the mediation of the King of Holland. It was not the standard of liberty and independence which was raised in the Texas, but the pirate's flag, under cover of which the slave-trade was carried on. We had interfered in the affairs of Holland and Belgium, Portugal and Spain; why, then, should we not remonstrate in a friendly manner with the United States upon the conduct which they were pursuing with regard to the Texas?

MR. O'CONNEL thought that humanity was indebted to the Hon. Member for bringing this question before the House. It was only by the expression of public opinion that we could hope to check the progress of one of the most horrible evils the human mind could contemplate—viz. the formation of eight or nine additional slaveholding states. The revolt of Texas was founded on nothing else but the abolition of slavery by the Mexican government. In 1824, the Mexican government had pronounced that no person after that period should be born a slave. In 1829 they went further, and abolished slavery, and immediately followed the revolt of the landholders, who had settled themselves in Texas. Who could contemplate without horror the calculation, as in the case of stocking a farm, what was the necessary complement of men and women, and when they would be ready and ripe for the market? It was a blot which no other country but America had ever yet suffered to stain its history—no nation on the face of the earth had ever been degraded by such crimes, except the high-spirited North American Republic. Talk of the progress of democratic principle! No man admired it more than he did. What became of it when its principal advocates could not be persuaded to abstain from such species of traffic as this? Texas had speculated on it.

COLONEL THOMPSON asked whether it was not the fact that all the inhabitants of this province were Americans, and not Mexicans? It had been said in former times, *ubi Romane vincis, ibi habitas*; and with equal truth it might now be said, that where an American conquered there he carried slavery as a necessary of life.—*March 9th, 1837.*

RELIGIOUS AND MORAL TESTIMONY.

PRESBYTERIAN SYNOD of New York and Philadelphia, 1787.

The Synod of New York and Philadelphia, (1787,) do highly approve of the general principles in favor of universal liberty that prevail in America, and the interest which many of the states have taken in promoting the abolition of slavery. They earnestly recommend it to all the members belonging to their communion, to give those persons who are at present held in servitude, such good education as to prepare them for the better enjoyment of freedom. And they moreover recommend that masters, whenever they find servants disposed to make a just improvement of the privilege, would give them a peculium, or grant them sufficient time, and sufficient means of procuring their own liberty at a moderate rate; that thereby they may be brought into society with those habits of industry that may render them useful

citizens. And finally, they recommend it to all their people to use the most prudent measures, consistent with the interests and the state of civil society in the countries where they live, to procure eventually the final abolition of slavery in America.

Advice given by the Assembly, in relation to Slavery, in 1815.

“The General Assembly have repeatedly declared their cordial approbation of those principles of civil liberty which appear to be recognized by the Federal and State governments, in these United States. They have expressed their regret that the slavery of the Africans and of their descendants still continues in so many places, and even among those within the pale of the Church; and have urged the Presbyteries under their care, to adopt such measures as will secure at least to the rising generation of slaves, within the bounds of the Church, a religious education; that they may be prepared for the exercise and enjoyment of liberty, when God, in his providence may open a door for their emancipation.

“A full expression of the Assembly's views of Slavery, in 1818.

“We consider the voluntary enslaving of one part of the human race by another, as a gross violation of the most precious and sacred rights of human nature; as utterly inconsistent with the law of God which requires us to love our neighbor as ourselves; and as totally irreconcilable with the spirit and principles of the gospel of Christ, which enjoin that ‘all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them.’ Slavery creates a paradox in the moral system—it exhibits rational, accountable, and immortal beings in such circumstances as scarcely to leave them the power of moral action. It exhibits them as dependant on the will of others, whether they shall receive religious instruction; whether they shall know and worship the true God; whether they shall enjoy the ordinances of the gospel; whether they shall perform the duties and cherish the endearments of husbands and wives, parents and children, neighbors and friends; whether they shall preserve their chastity and purity, or regard the dictates of justice and humanity. Such are some of the consequences of slavery; *consequences not imaginary*, but which connect themselves with its very existence. The evils to which the slave is *always* exposed, often take place in their *very worst degree and form*; and where all of them do not take place, still the slave is deprived of his natural rights, degraded as a human being, and exposed to the danger of passing into the hand of a master who may inflict upon him all the hardships and injuries which inhumanity and avarice may suggest.

“We enjoin it on all Church Sessions and Presbyteries to discountenance, and as far as possible to prevent all cruelty, of whatever kind, in the treatment of slaves; especially the cruelty of separating husband and wife, parents and children; and that which consists in selling slaves to those who will either themselves deprive those unhappy people of the blessings of the gospel, or who will transport them to

places where the gospel is not proclaimed, or where it is forbidden to slaves to attend upon its institutions. The manifest violation or disregard of this injunction, ought to be considered as just ground for the discipline and censures of the Church. And if it shall ever happen that a Christian professor in our communion shall sell a slave who is also in communion with our Church, contrary to his or her will and inclination, it ought immediately to claim the particular attention of the proper Church judicature; and unless there be such peculiar circumstances attending the case as can but seldom happen, it ought to be followed without delay, by a suspension of the offender from all the privileges of the Church, till he repent and make all the reparation in his power to the injured party.”—*Digest of the General Assembly, page 341.*

METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

There is only one condition previously required of those who desire admission into these societies, a desire to flee from the wrath to come, and to be saved from their sins. But wherever this is really fixed in the soul, it will be shown by its fruits. It is therefore expected of all who continue therein, that they should continue to evidence their desire of salvation, by doing no harm, by avoiding evil of every kind, especially that which is most generally practised, such as—“*the buying and selling of men, women, or children, with an intention to enslave them.*”

OF SLAVERY.—*Question.*—What shall be done for the extirpation of the evil of slavery?

Answer 1.—We declare that we are as much as ever convinced of the great evil of slavery; therefore, no slaveholder shall be eligible to any official station in our Church hereafter; where the laws of the state in which he lives will admit of emancipation, and permit the liberated slave to enjoy freedom.

Answer 2.—When any travelling preacher becomes an owner of a slave or slaves, by any means he shall forfeit his ministerial character in our Church, unless he execute, if it be practicable, a legal emancipation of such slaves, conformably to the laws of the state in which he lives.—*Doctrine and Discipline.*

SAMUEL HOPKINS, D. D.

Are you sure your slaves have a sufficiency of good food, in season; and that they never want for comfortable clothing and bedding? Do you take great care to deal as well by them in these things, as you would wish others would treat your own children, were they slaves in a strange land? If your servants complain, are you ready to attend to them? Or do you in such cases frown upon them, or do something worse, so as to discourage their ever applying to you, whatever they may suffer, having learned that this would only be making bad worse? Do you never fly into a passion, and deal with them in great anger, deciding matters respecting them, and threatening them, and giving sentence concerning them, from which they have no appeal, and perhaps proceed to correct them, when to a calm bystander you appear more fit to be confined in a bedlam, than to have the sovereign, uncon-

trollable dominion over your brethren, as the sole lawgiver, judge, and executioner? Do not even your children domineer over your slaves? Must they not often be at the beck of an unguided, peevish child in the family; and if they do not run at his or her call, and are not all submission and obedience, must they not expect the frowns of their masters, if not the whip?

If none of these things, my good sir, take place in your family, have we not reason to think you a most singular instance? How common are things of this kind, or worse, taking place between masters and their slaves? In how few instances, if in any, are slaves treated, as the masters would wish to have their own children treated, in like circumstances? How few are fit to be masters? To have the sovereign dominion over a number of their fellow men, being his property, and wholly at his disposal; who must abide his sentence and orders, however unreasonable, without any possibility of relief?

But are we at the same time making slaves of many thousands of our brethren, who have as good a right to liberty as ourselves, and to whom it is as sweet as it is to us, and the contrary as dreadful! Are we holding them in the most abject, miserable state of slavery, without the least compassionate feeling towards them or their posterity, utterly refusing to take off the oppressive galling yoke! Oh, the shocking, the intolerable inconsistency! And this gross, barefaced inconsistency is an open, practical condemnation of holding these our brethren in slavery; and in these circumstances the crime of persisting in it becomes unspeakably greater and more provoking in God's sight; so that all the former unrighteousness and cruelty exercised in this practice, is innocence, compared with the awful guilt that is now contracted. And in allusion to the words of our Saviour, it may with great truth and propriety be said, "If he had not thus come in his Providence, and spoken unto us, (comparatively speaking,) we had not had sin, in making bond-slaves of our brethren; but now, we have no cloak for our sin."—*Dialogue on African Slavery, 1776, republished 1785, by the N. Y. Manumission Society, whose president was John Jay.*

JONATHAN EDWARDS.

The eradication, or even the diminution of compassion, tenderness, and humanity, is certainly a great depravity of heart, and must be followed with correspondent depravity of manners. And measures which lead to such depravity of heart and manners, cannot but be extremely hurtful to the state, and consequently are extremely impolitic.

African slavery is exceedingly impolitic, as it discourages industry. Nothing is more essential to the political prosperity of any state, than industry in the citizens. But in proportion as slaves are multiplied, every kind of labor becomes ignominious; and in fact, in those of the United States, in which slaves are the most numerous, gentlemen and ladies of any fashion disdain to employ themselves in business, which in other states is consistent with the dignity of the first families and first offices. In a country filled with negro slaves, labor belongs to them only, and a white man is despised in proportion as he applies to

it. Now how destructive to industry in all of the lowest and middle classes of citizens, such a situation, and the prevalence of such ideas will be, you can easily conceive. The consequence is, that some will nearly starve, others will betake themselves to the most dishonest practices, to obtain the means of living.

As slavery produces indolence in the white people, so it produces all those vices which are naturally connected with it; such as intemperance, lewdness, and prodigality. These vices enfeeble both the body and the mind, and unfit men for any vigorous exertions and employments, either external or mental; and those who are unfit for such exertions, are already a very degenerate race; degenerate, not only in a moral, but a natural sense. They are contemptible too, and will soon be despised even by their negroes themselves.

Slavery has a most direct tendency to haughtiness also, and a domineering spirit and conduct in the proprietors of the slaves, in their children, and in all who have the control of them. A man who has been bred up in domineering over negroes, can scarcely avoid contracting such a habit of haughtiness and domination, as will express itself in his general treatment of mankind, whether in his private capacity, or in any office, civil or military, with which he may be vested. Despotism in economics naturally leads to despotism in politics, and domestic slavery in a free government is a perfect solecism in human affairs.—*The Injustice and Impolicy of the slave-trade and of the slavery of the Africans—a Sermon in New Haven, Sept. 15, 1791.*

ELIAS HICKS.

We, in an enlightened age, have greatly surpassed, in brutality and injustice, the most ignorant and barbarous ages; and while we are pretending to the finest feelings of humanity, are exercising unprecedented cruelty. We have planted slavery in the rank soil of sordid avarice; and the product has been misery in the extreme.

The slavedealer, the slaveholder, and the slavedriver are virtually the agents of the *consumer*. Whatever we do by another, we do ourselves.

JESSE TORREY, JR.

To enumerate all the horrid and aggravating instances of man-stealing, which are known to have occurred in the state of Delaware, within the recollection of many of the citizens of that state would require a volume. In many cases, whole families of free colored people have been attacked in the night, beaten *nearly* to death with clubs, gagged and bound, and dragged into distant and hopeless captivity; leaving no traces behind, except the blood from their wounds.

During the last winter, the house of a free black family was broken open, and its defenceless inhabitants treated in the manner just mentioned, except that the mother escaped from their merciless grasp, while on their way to the state of Maryland. The plunderers, of whom there were nearly half a dozen, conveyed their prey upon horses; and the woman being placed on one of the horses, behind, improved an

opportunity, as they were passing a house, and sprang off. Not daring to pursue her, they proceeded on, leaving her youngest child a little farther along, by the side of the road, in expectation, it is supposed, that its cries would attract the mother; but she prudently waited until morning, and recovered it again in safety.

From the best information that I have had opportunities to collect, in travelling my various routes through the states of Delaware and Maryland, I am fully convinced that there are, at this time, within the jurisdiction of the United States, several thousands of legally free people of color, toiling under the yoke of involuntary servitude, and transmitting the same fate to their posterity!—*Domestic Slavery and Kidnapping.*

JOHN KENRICK.

“*The Horrors of Slavery.*”—To invite attention to this melancholy subject, and to excite sympathy for the suffering, is the object of this publication. The compiler firmly believes that his countrymen stand exposed to the righteous rebukes of Providence for this glaring inconsistency and inhumanity; that whether they shall be tried at the bar of *reason*, the bar of *conscience*, or the bar of *God*, they may justly be condemned out of their own mouths; and that all their *arguments*, and all their *fightings* for liberty, may be produced as evidence, that as a people, they do unto others as they would *not* that others should do unto them. The suffering and degraded sons of Africa are groaning under bondage in a land of boasted freedom,—nay, groaning under oppression from the hands of men who would probably involve a whole nation in war and bloodshed—or even *set the world on fire*, rather than submit to a *fiftieth* part of the violation of natural rights which they inflict on the African race.

Whenever the government of the United States shall come to the righteous and consistent determination, that *all the inhabitants shall be free*, it is believed that no insurmountable obstacles will be found in the way of its accomplishment. Whether it would be just, and equal, and eligible, to take money from the public treasury to redeem African slaves, may possibly become a question for the consideration of congress. It may not, however, be amiss for the people to inquire whether it would be more just and equitable to continue to withhold from more than a million (now two millions) of our fellow beings those essential blessings, without which we ourselves should consider life insupportable.

If it should be pleaded that the powers of the general government are too limited to ensure the personal, civil, and religious liberties of all; can a doubt be entertained of the readiness of the people, when they fairly understand the subject, to enlarge those powers to any extent necessary for the attainment of an object of such transcendent importance? To say “they would not,” would be to utter a most shameful libel against a majority of the freemen of the United States.—*The Horrors of Slavery.*

THE SLAVE-TRADE.

We now come to our own country, the United States. And what shall we say? What must we say? What does the truth compel us to say? Why, that of all the countries appealed to by great Britain and France on this momentous subject, *the United States is the only one which has returned a decided negative.* We neither do any thing ourselves to put down the accursed traffic, nor afford any facilities to enable others to put it down. Nay, rather, we stand between the slave and his deliverer. We are a drawback—a dead weight on the cause of bleeding humanity. How long shall this shameful apathy continue? How long shall we, who call ourselves the champions of freedom, close our ears to the groans, and our eyes to the tears and blood, and our hearts to the untold anguish of thousands and tens of thousands who are every year torn from home and friends and bosom companions, and sold into hopeless bondage, or perish amid the horrors of the “middle passage?” From the shores of bleeding Africa, and from the channels of the deep, from Brazil and from Cuba, Echo answers, “How long?”—*N. Y. Journal of Commerce, Sept. 1835.*

EDINBURGH REVIEW.

We have, however, to record one instance of positive refusal to our request of accession to these conventions, and that, we grieve to say, comes from the United States of America—the first nation that, by its statute law, branded the slave-trade with the name of piracy. The conduct, moreover, of the President, does not appear to have been perfectly candid and ingenuous. There appears to have been delay in returning any answer, and when returned, it seems to have been of an evasive character. In the month of August, 1833, the English and French ministers jointly sent in copies of the recent conventions, and requested the accession of the United States. At the end of March following, seven months afterwards, an answer is returned, which, though certainly not of a favorable character in other respects, yet brings so prominently into view, as the insuperable objection, that the mutual right of search of suspected vessels was to be extended to the shores of the United States, (though we permitted it to American cruisers off the coast of our West Indian colonies,) that Lord Palmerston was naturally led to suppose that the other objections were superable. He, therefore, though aware how much the whole efficiency of the agreement will be impaired, consents to waive that part of it, in accordance with the wishes of the President, and in the earnest hope that he will, in return, make some concessions of feeling or opinion to the wishes of England and France, and to the necessities of a great and holy cause. The final answer, however, is, that under no condition, in no form, and with no restrictions, will the United States enter into any convention or treaty, or make combined efforts of any sort or kind, with other nations, for the suppression of the trade. We much mistake the state of public opinion in the United States, if its government will not find itself under the necessity of changing this resolution. The slave-trade will henceforth, we have little doubt, be carried on

under the flag of freedom; but as in no country, after our own, have such persevering efforts for its suppression been made, by men the most distinguished for goodness, wisdom, and eloquence, as in the United States, we cannot believe that their flag will long be prostituted to such vile purposes; and either they must combine with other nations, or they must increase the number and efficiency of their naval forces on the coast of Africa and elsewhere, and do their work single-handed. We say this the more, because the motives which have actuated the government of the United States in this refusal, clearly have reference to the words, "right of search." They will not choose to see that this is a mutual restricted right, effected by convention, strictly guarded by stipulations for one definite object, and confined in its operations within narrow geographical limits; a right, moreover, which England and France have accorded to each other without derogating from the national honour of either. If we are right in our conjecture of the motive, and there is evidence to support us, we must consider that the President and his ministers have been in this instance, actuated by a narrow provincial jealousy, and totally unworthy of a great and independent nation.

ELIZABETH MARGARET CHANDLER.

The Domestic Slave-trade.—This is the most indefensible, as well as the most detestible feature in the system of slavery. It will not admit of even an attempt at justification. There are many who profess to deplore the existence of slavery, who yet consider its abolition impracticable, or unjust to the owners of slaves, or dangerous to the community. Others again, will descant largely on the blessings and advantages of slavery to those who are favored with the enjoyment of its benefits, ending with a declaration that their situation, if restored to freedom, would be infinitely more deplorable. But none of these reasons can be urged in behalf of this shameful traffic. It is a guilt and an infamy for which our country has no excuse. If her slave population was entailed upon her against her will, and cannot now be got rid of, she is at least, under no compulsion to permit herself to be disgraced by this infamous traffic.

Slave Produce.—One would suppose that the bare knowledge of the terrible price at which those cherished comforts have been procured, would cause a woman to turn shuddering and loathingly away, as though they were infected with a taint of blood. And the curse of blood is upon them! Though the dark red stain may not be there visibly, yet the blood of all the many thousands of the slain, who have died amid the horrors and loathsomeness of the slave-ship—been hurled by rapacious cruelty to the yawning wave, or sprang to its bosom in the madness of their proud despair—of those who have pined away to death beneath the slow tortures of a broken heart, who have perished beneath the tortures of inventive tyranny, or on the ignominious gibbet—all this lies with a fearful weight upon this most foul and unnatural system, and that insatiable thirst for luxury and wealth in which it first originated, and by which it is still perpetuated.

Think of our country's glory,
 All dimm'd with Afric's tears—
 Her broad flag stain'd and gory
 With the hoarded guilt of years !

Think of the frantic mother,
 Lamenting for her child,
 Till falling lashes smother
 Her cries of anguish wild :

Think of the prayers ascending
 Yet shriek'd, alas ! in vain,
 When heart from heart is rending
 Ne'er to be joined again.

Shall we behold, unheeding,
 Life's holiest feelings crush'd ?
 When woman's heart is bleeding,
 Shall woman's voice be hush'd ?

Oh, no ! by every blessing
 That Heaven to thee may lend—
 Remember their oppression,
 Forget not, sister, friend.

E. M. Chandler's Works.

TO PRUDENCE CRANDALL.

Heaven bless thee noble lady,
 In thy purpose, good and high !
 Give knowledge to the thirsting mind,
 Light to the asking eye ;
 Unseal the intellectual page,
 For those from whom dark pride,
 With tyrant and unholy hands,
 Would fain its treasures hide.

Still bear thou up unyielding,
 'Gainst persecution's shock,
 Gentle as woman's self yet firm
 And moveless as a rock ;
 A thousand spirits yield to thee
 Their gushing sympathies,
 The blessing of a thousand hearts
 Around thy pathway lies.

E. M. C.

PRUDENCE CRANDALL.

This enterprising and philanthropic young lady has been tried and convicted by a court in the state of Connecticut, after all the usual formalities of examining witnesses, hearing counsel, and the delivery of a charge from his honor the judge, of—readers what do you suppose? not of stealing nor breaking the peace and dignity of the state—but of teaching young women to read and write. Truly this is a very enlightened age! and CONNECTICUT, so far-famed for her colleges, and seminaries of learning, has taken the lead in causing her light to shine!! A jury of that enlightened state, has convicted one of her daughters of endeavoring to impart literary instruction to females! Truly, “where the light that is in us becomes darkness, how great is that darkness!!”

The greater the opportunities we possess of knowing what is right, the greater the depravity which can produce such palpable violations of the decencies of civilized society, as have been exhibited in the persecutions to which this virtuous young woman has been subjected.

B. L.

N. P. WILLIS.

And we are free—but is there not
One blot upon our name?
Is our proud record written fair
Upon the scroll of fame?

Our banner floateth by the shore,
Our flag upon the sea—
But when the fetter'd slave is loos'd,
We shall be truly free.

JOHN G. WHITTIER.

What! shall we henceforth humbly ask as favors,
Rights all our own? In madness shall we barter,
For treach'rous peace the FREEDOM nature gave us
God and our charter?

From each and all, if God hath not forsaken
Our land and left us to an evil choice,
Loud as the summer thunder-bolt shall waken
A people's voice!

Oh, let that voice go forth! the bondman, sighing
By Santee's wave, in Mississippi's cane,
Shall feel the hope within his bosom, dying,
Revive again.

Let it go forth! The millions who are gazing
Sadly upon us from afar shall smile,
And, unto God devout thanksgiving raising,
Bless us the while.

Oh, for your ancient freedom, pure and holy,
For the deliv'rance of a groaning earth,
For the wronged captive, bleeding, crushed and lowl
Let it go forth!

LYDIA H. SIGOURNEY.

Oh! if to Afric's sable race
A fearful debt we justly owe,
If heaven's dread book record the trace
Of every deed and thought below—

And if for them the christian prayer
Implores of God to guide and save,
Then let these helpless suppliants share
From mercy's store the mite they crave.

Touch deep for them the pitying breast,
Bid bounty's stream flow warm and free
For who can tell among the blest,
How sweet their harp of praise may be?

WILLIAM B. TAPPAN.

Could your griefs, wretched slaves ! could your injuries speak,
 Oh, God ! what a tale to unfold ;
 Blush, blush, guilty Europe ! shroud, manhood, thy cheek,
 Weep, weep for the passion of gold.

Yet that *here*, where our symbol the wild eagle flies
 Oh, shame ! writhes the African's soul—
 That on fields bought by freedom, an outcast he dies,
 Time ! veil it—'twill darken thy scroll.

My country ! that plighted'st to freedom thy troth,
 Redeem it !—thou art not yet free ;
 On, eternity's page thou recordest thine oath,
 'Tis broken ! there's slavery with thee.

JOHN PIERPONT.

Quench, righteous God, the thirst,
 That Congo's sons hath curs'd—
 The thirst for gold !
 Shall not thy thunders speak,
 Where Mammon's altars reek,
 Where maids and matrons shriek,
 Bound, bleeding, sold ?

Cast down, great God, the fanes,
 That, to unhallowed gains,
 Round us have risen—
 Temples whose priesthood pore
 Moses and Jesus o'er,
 Then bolt the black man's door,
 The poor man's prison !

LYDIA MARIA CHILD.

In order to show the true aspect of slavery among us, I will state distinct propositions, each supported by the evidence of actually existing laws.

1. Slavery is hereditary and perpetual, to the last moment of the slave's earthly existence, and to all his descendants, to the latest posterity.

2. The labor of the slave is compulsory and uncompensated ; while the kind of labor, the amount of toil, and the time allowed for rest, are dictated solely by the master. No bargain is made, no wages given. A pure despotism governs the human brute ; and even his covering and provender, both as to quantity and quality, depend entirely on the master's discretion.

3. The slave being considered a personal chattel, may be sold, or pledged, or leased, at the will of his master. He may be exchanged for marketable commodities, or taken in execution for the debts, or taxes, either of a living, or a deceased master. Sold at auction, "either individually, or in lots to suit the purchaser," he may remain with his family, or be separated from them for ever.

4. Slaves can make no contracts, and have no legal right to any property, real or personal. Their own honest earnings, and the legacies of friends, belong, in point of law, to their masters.

5. Neither a slave, nor free colored person, can be a witness against any white or free man, in a court of justice, however atrocious may have been the crimes they have seen him commit: but they may give testimony against a fellow-slave, or free colored man, even in cases affecting life.

6. The slave may be punished at his master's discretion—without trial—without any means of legal redress,—whether his offence be real or imaginary: and the master can transfer the same despotic power to any person, or persons, he may choose to appoint.

7. The slave is not allowed to resist any free man under any circumstances: his only safety consists in the fact that his owner may bring suit and recover the price of his body, in case his life is taken, or his limbs rendered unfit for labor.

8. Slaves cannot redeem themselves, or obtain a change of masters, though cruel treatment may have rendered such a change necessary for their personal safety.

9. The slave is entirely unprotected in his domestic relations.

10. The laws greatly obstruct the manumission of slaves, even where the master is willing to enfranchise them.

11. The operation of the laws tends to deprive slaves of religious instruction and consolation.

12. The whole power of the laws is exerted to keep slaves in a state of the lowest ignorance.

13. There is in this country a monstrous inequality of law and right. What is a trifling fault in a white man, is considered highly criminal in the slave; the same offences which cost a white man a few dollars only, are punished in the negro with death.

14. The laws operate most oppressively upon free people of color.—*Appeal in favor of that class of Americans called Africans.*

SARAH M. GRIMKÉ.—ANGELINA E. GRIMKÉ.

Let them protest against the use of the national prisons for the iniquitous purpose of confining slaves, and free people of color taken up on suspicion of being runaways. Let Northerners petition for the abolition of slavery in the territory of Florida, and the entire breaking up of the inter-state slave-trade. Let them respectfully ask for an alteration in that part of the constitution by which they are bound to assist the South in quelling servile insurrections. Let them see to it that they send no man to congress who would give his vote to the admission of another slave state into the national Union. Let them protest against the injustice and cruelty of delivering the fugitive slave back to his master, as being a direct infringement of the Divine command. Deut. xxiii, 15, 16. Let them petition their different legislatures to grant a jury trial to the friendless, helpless runaway, and for the repeal of those laws which secure to the slaveholder his legal right to his slave, after he has voluntarily brought him within the verge of their jurisdiction, and

for the enactment of such laws as will protect the colored man, woman, and child, from the fangs of the kidnapper, who is constantly walking about in the northern states, seeking whom he may devour. Let the northern churches refuse to receive slaveholders at their communion tables, or to permit slaveholding ministers to enter their pulpits. Let those northern ministers who go to the South "Cry aloud and spare not, lift up their voices like a trumpet and show the people their transgressions, and the house of Jacob their sins;"—let them refuse to countenance the system of slavery by owning slaves themselves. Let northern men who go to the South to make their fortunes, see to it, that those fortunes are not made out of the unrequited labor of the slave. Let northern merchants refuse to receive mortgages or take slaves, seeing that this is a virtual acknowledgement that man can hold man as property. Let them carefully avoid participating in any way in the African slave-trade. Let northern manufacturers refuse to purchase the cotton for the cultivation of which the laborer has received no wages. Let the grocer refuse to buy the sugar and rice of the South, so long as "the hire of the laborers who have reaped down their fields is kept back by fraud." Let the merchant refuse to receive the articles manufactured out of slave-grown cotton, and let the consumer refuse to purchase either the rice, sugar, or cotton articles, to produce which has cost the slave his unpaid labor, his tears, and his blood. Every Northerner may in this way bear a faithful testimony against slavery at the South, by withdrawing his pecuniary support.

CONSTITUTION OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

ART. II.—The object of this Society is the entire abolition of slavery in the United States. While it admits that each state in which slavery exists, has, by the Constitution of the United States, the exclusive right to *legislate* in regard to its abolition in said state, it shall aim to convince all our fellow-citizens, by arguments addressed to their understandings and consciences, that slaveholding is a heinous crime in the sight of God, and that the duty, safety, and best interests of all concerned, requires its *immediate abandonment*, without expatriation. The Society will also endeavor, in a constitutional way, to influence congress to put an end to the domestic slave-trade, and to abolish slavery in all those portions of our common country which come under its control, especially in the District of Columbia,—and likewise to prevent the extension of it to any state that may be hereafter admitted to the Union.

ART. III.—This Society shall aim to elevate the character and condition of the people of color, by encouraging their intellectual, moral, and religious improvement, and by removing public prejudice, that thus they may, according to their intellectual and moral worth, share an equality with the whites, of civil and religious privileges; but this Society will never, in any way, countenance the oppressed in vindicating their rights by resorting to physical force.

NEW-ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The constitution and the laws have left us the means to spread and to carry into effect the doctrine of human rights, of universal liberty. The law, at least, in the free states, allows the use of all means, except those which our own conscience would forbid; the constitution of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society permits no others than such as are sanctioned by law, humanity, and religion. It is enough that we have freedom to speak and to print; freedom peacefully to assemble, and associate, to consult, and to petition the government of the Union as well as the legislature of every state, and thus by individual and united exertion, to act upon the public mind. Thus armed with all the legitimate weapons of truth, we feel bound in conscience never to lay them down until the principle that man can hold property in man is effaced from our statute books, and held in abhorrence by public opinion. After the most careful examination, we are convinced that slavery is unjust in itself, and cannot be justified by any laws or circumstances; that it wars against Christianity, and is condemned by the Declaration of our Independence. We are convinced that it is injurious to every branch of industry, and more injurious still to the mind and character both of the master and the slave. Its existence is the chief cause of all our political dissensions; it tends to unsettle the groundwork of our government, so that every institution, founded on the common ground of our Union, is like an edifice on a volcanic soil, ever liable to have its foundation shaken, and the whole structure consumed by subterraneous fire. The danger of a servile and a civil war is gaining every year, every day; for the annual increase of the slave population is more than sixty thousand; and every day about two hundred children are born into slavery. As the more northern of the slave states, seeing the advantages of free labor, dispose of their slaves in a more southern market, and by degrees abolish servitude, the whole slave population, and with it the danger of a terrible revolution are crowded together in the more southern states. Under all these threatening circumstances, what have the southern states, what has congress done, to avert the impending calamity from the Union? Congress, which has full and exclusive power to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, and in the territories, and to abolish the domestic as well as the foreign slave-trade, shrinks from touching the subject.

OHIO ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.

The influence of slavery upon slaveholders and the slave states are, an abiding sense of insecurity and dread; the press cowering under a censorship; freedom of speech struck dumb by proscription; a standing army of patrols to awe down insurrection; the mechanic arts and all vigorous enterprise crushed under an incubus; a thriftless agriculture, smiting the land with barrenness and decay; industry held up to scorn; idleness a badge of dignity; profligacy no barrier to favor; lust emboldened by impunity; concubinage encouraged by premium, the high price of the mixed race operating as a bounty upon amalgamation;

prodigality, in lavishing upon the rich the plundered earnings of the poor, accounted high-souled generosity; revenge regarded as the refinement of honor; aristocracy entitled republicanism, and despotism chivalry; sympathy deadened by scenes of cruelty rendered familiar; female amiableness transformed into fury by habits of despotic sway; conscience smothered by its own unheeded monitions; manhood effeminated by loose-reined indulgence, and a pervading degeneracy of morals and manners, resulting from a state of society where power has no restraint, and the weak have none to succor.

ROBERT J. BRECKENRIDGE.

Just and equal! what care I, whether my pockets are picked, or the proceeds of my labor are taken from me? What matters it whether my horse is stolen, or the value of him in my labor be taken from me? Do we talk of violating the rights of masters, and depriving them of their property in their slaves? And will some one tell us, if there be any thing in which a man has, or can have, so perfect a right of property, as in his own limbs, bones, and sinews? Out upon such folly! The man who cannot see that involuntary domestic slavery, as it exists among us, is founded upon the principle of taking by force that which is another's, has simply no moral sense.

We utter but the common sentiment of mankind when we say, none ever continue slaves a moment after they are conscious of their ability to retrieve their freedom. The constant tendency for fifty years has been to accumulate the black population upon the southern states; already in some of them the blacks exceed the whites, and in most of them increase above the increase of the whites in the same states, with a ratio that is absolutely startling; [the annual increase in the United States is sixty thousand;] the slave population could bring into action a larger portion of efficient men, perfectly inured to hardships, to the climate, and privations, than any other population in the world; and they have in distant sections, and on various occasions, manifested already a desperate purpose to shake off the yoke. In such an event we ask not any heart to decide where would human sympathy and earthly glory stand; we ask not in the fearful words of Jefferson, what attribute of Jehovah would allow him to take part with us; we ask only—and the answer settles the argument—which is like to be the stronger side?

Nature, and reason, and religion unite in their hostility to this system of folly and crime. How it will end, time only can reveal; but the light of heaven is not clearer than that it must end.—*African Repository*, Jan. 1834.

FRANCIS WAYLAND.

Its effects must be disastrous upon the morals of both parties. By presenting objects on whom passion can be satisfied without resistance and without redress, it cultivates in the master, pride, anger, cruelty, selfishness, and licentiousness. By accustoming the slave to subject his moral principles to the will of another, it tends to abolish in him

all moral distinction, and thus fosters in him, lying, deceit, hypocrisy, dishonesty, and a willingness to yield himself up to minister to the appetite of his master—*Moral Science*.

ALONZO POTTER.

Brethren, if God so loved us, we ought also to love one another. This is the argument on which I would rely, in asking your charity this evening. The neglected and ill-fated race for whom I plead, are brethren with us of one family. The hand of the Creator may have imprinted on their features, a hue and complexion less delicate than ours. Man's rapacity may have torn them from their native land, and reduced them to the condition of slaves and menials here. And weighed down by oppression, bereft of hope, and having none to care for their souls, they may, too often, have sunk into vice and debasement. But, my friends, standing in this holy place—in his immediate presence, who has made of one blood all the nations of the earth, and given his Son to be a ransom for the inhabitants of every one alike; I can listen to no such facts as an excuse for apathy or avarice. If this unfortunate people have a physical nature less perfect than ours, God forbid that this, their misfortune, should be imputed to them as their crime. Still they have all the attributes of men—"the same organs, dimensions, senses, affections, passions. They are fed with the same food, hurt with the same weapons, subject to the same diseases, warmed and cooled by the same winter and summer," that a white man is.—*Discourse before the African School Society, Schenectady N. Y.*

WILLIAM E. CHANNING.

With the free we are to plead his cause. And this is peculiarly our duty, because we have bound ourselves to resist his efforts for his own emancipation. We suffer him to do nothing for himself. The more, then, should be done for him. Our physical power is pledged against him in case of revolt. Then our moral power should be exerted for his relief. His weakness, which we increase, gives him a claim to the only aid we can afford, to our moral sympathy, to the free and faithful exposition of his wrongs. As men, as Christians, as citizens, we have duties to the slave, as well as to every other member of the community. On this point we have no liberty. The eternal law binds us to take the side of the injured; and this law is peculiarly obligatory, when we forbid him to lift an arm in his own defence.

There is, however, there must be, in slaveholding communities a large class which cannot be too severely condemned. There are many we fear, very many, who hold their fellow-creatures in bondage, from selfish, base motives. They hold the slave for gain, whether justly or unjustly they neither ask nor care. They cling to him as property, and have no faith in the principles which will diminish a man's wealth. They hold him, not for his own good or the safety of the state, but with precisely the same views with which they hold a laboring horse, that is, for the profit which they can wring from him. They will not hear a word of his wrongs; for, wronged or not, they will not let him

go. He is their property, and they mean not to be poor for righteousness' sake. Such a class there undoubtedly is among slaveholders; how large their own consciences must determine. We are sure of it; for under such circumstances human nature will and must come to this mournful result. Now, to men of this spirit, the explanations we have made do in no degree apply. Such men ought to tremble before the rebukes of outraged humanity and indignant virtue. Slavery, upheld for gain, is a great crime. He, who has nothing to urge against emancipation, but that it will make him poorer, is bound to immediate emancipation. He has no excuse for wresting from his brethren their rights. The plea of benefit to the slave and the state avails him nothing. He extorts, by the lash, that labor to which he has no claim, through a base selfishness. Every morsel of food, thus forced from the injured, ought to be bitterer than gall. His gold is cankered. The sweat of the slave taints the luxuries for which it streams. Better were it for the selfish wrong doer of whom I speak, to live as the slave, to clothe himself in the slave's raiment, to eat the slave's coarse food, to till his fields with his own hands, than to pamper himself by day, and pillow his head on down at night, at the cost of a wantonly injured fellow-creature.

I know it will be said, "You would make us poor." Be poor, then, and thank God for your honest poverty. Better be poor than unjust. Better beg than steal. Better live in an almshouse, better die than trample on a fellow-creature and reduce him to a brute, for selfish gratification. What! have we yet to learn that "it profits us nothing to gain the whole world, and lose our souls?"

JAMES G. BIRNEY.

There would be no danger of personal violence to the master from emancipation, brought about by Christian benevolence. Such an apprehension is the refuge of conscious guilt. Emancipation, brought about on the principle above mentioned, I hesitate not to say, would, in most instances, where the superior intelligence of the master was acknowledged, produce on the part of the beneficiaries, the most entire and cordial reliance on his counsel and friendship. I do not believe that I have any warmer friends than my manumitted slaves—none, I am sure, if sacrifices were called for, who would more freely make them, to promote my happiness.

The injustice which the *slave* feels as done him in taking the avails of his labor, leads him to take clandestinely, what he persuades himself he is entitled to. He has comparatively no character to lose, no ultimate object, for the attainment of which, the building up of a good character would contribute. As a freeman, *character* would be essential to him—his earnings would be his; his house, his furniture, his comforts would be his—his wife, his children would be his; the apprehension of forcible separation would depart, and he would have every motive that ordinarily influences men to build up a good name for worth and honesty. The depredations on the masters' property by *slaves*, I should suppose, are tenfold what they would be by the same *slaves* made freemen.—*Reply to Queries of some Friends*, 1835.

JAMES T. WOODBURY.

We can vote slavery down in Columbia and in our territories. "But," it is objected, "it will dissolve the Union." Mr. Birney says, the South never will do it, for they cannot support themselves, and we are more liable to go there and fight, to keep their slaves in subjection. The slaves, if they are freed, will not come here, their labor is wanted in the South. The South do not hate the black skin with which God has covered them, as we do. "But O they smell bad." No bad smell while they are slaves; they are about the persons of their masters and mistresses, and nurse their children, and do not scent them with the bad smell,—but as soon as they are free—bad smell.

EVAN LEWIS.

Much has been said by the advocates and apologists of slavery, about the *danger* of emancipation—that it would be accompanied or followed by insurrections, massacres, and servile war. Now no sane man desires to *turn loose* upon society, a horde of ignorant men, either white or black, without the salutary restraints of *law*. We wish to see the *assumed* right of property in human flesh abolished, and the laws made for the *protection*, as well as for the government and restraint, of every man of every nation and color. To place every man under the protection of the law, and to abolish that licentiousness and tyranny which are now tolerated, would be to restore society to its natural order, and give every man an interest in the preservation of the peace and harmony of the community. All fear of hostility and temptations to excite insurrections, or to shed the blood of the white men, would be banished with the removal of the cause which produce them. In all cases where the experiment has been tried, [in the West Indian Islands,] our reasoning from the nature of man, and the influence which just treatment will always exert on his moral character, has been proved by universal facts.—*Genius of Universal Emancipation*.

EDWARD C. DELEVAN.

I am glad to say that I have already joined the "Anti-Slavery Society." I have long felt that it was my duty to do so, and I have only been deterred by the fear of injuring the cause of Temperance, with which cause you know my name has in some measure been identified. I have, in fact, been practising that kind of expediency, which I have been so ready to condemn in others, with regard to the cause of Temperance. I have joined the "Anti-Slavery Society," for the reason that I believe it to be doing about all that is now attempted for the relief of our country from the sin of slavery, for that slavery, as it now exists in these United States is a high handed sin I have no doubt. Other societies may be doing much for Africa, and for the elevation of free colored people; but, for the final relief of our beloved country and our enslaved brethren, your society, among human instrumentalities, now seems to me the only hope. That the Anti-Slavery Society may be

the instrument under God, by kind arguments and Christian entreaty, not only of enlightening the public opinion of the north as to the sin and evil of slavery, but, what is of still greater moment, of affecting the hearts of our christian brethren of the south and leading them as a matter of interest, as well as duty, to rid themselves of a curse, and our country of its deepest stain, shall be my daily prayer.—*Letter to Gerrit Smith.*

WILLIAM LEGGETT.

The opinions of the southern people themselves, with respect to the perfect right which every American citizen possesses, to discuss the subject of slavery, have undergone a world-wide change in the course of a few years. If they will look into the writings of Jefferson and Madison, they will find that those great men, though southerners and slaveholders, not only did not claim any such right of interdicting the subject as is now set up, but exercised it very freely themselves. If they will turn to the record of the debate which took place in congress in 1790, on the question of committing the memorial of the *Society of Friends* against the slave-trade, they will find that Mr. Madison explained the obligations of the federal compact, in a very different manner from that which it is the fashion of the present day to interpret them. They will find that, in the review which he entered in 'o of the circumstances connected with the adoption of the constitution, he very clearly showed that the powers of congress were by no means as limited as it is now contended that they are. They will find that, in speaking of the territories of the United States, he expressly declared, from his knowledge, as well of the sentiments and opinions of the members of the convention, as of the true meaning and force of the terms of the compact, that there "congress have certainly the power to regulate the subject of slavery." It is fortunate that Madison and Jefferson did not live to this day, or they would have been denounced as abolitionists, fanatics, and incendiaries, and every thing else that is bad. Lieutenant Governor Robinson would no doubt have honored them with a place in his message, as ring-leaders of his "organized band of conspirators."

But though Madison and Jefferson are gone, the spirit which animated them still glows in many a freeman's bosom; while one spark of it remains, the South will storm and rave in vain, for it never can induce the northern states to give up freedom for the sake of union; to give up the end for the sake of the means; to give up the substance for the sake of the shadow.—*The Plaindealer.*

“HAIL COLUMBIA! HAPPY LAND!!!”



AUTHENTIC ACCOUNTS OF UNITED STATES'
SLAVERY.

“A good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit, neither can a corrupt tree bring forth good fruit. Wherefore by their fruits ye shall know them.”

JAMES H. DICKEY.

In the summer of 1822, as I returned with my family from a visit to the Barrens of Kentucky, I witnessed a scene such as I never witnessed before, and such as I hope never to witness again. Having passed through Paris, in Bourbon county, Ky., the sound of music (beyond a little rising ground) attracted my attention; I looked forward and saw the flag of my country waving. Supposing that I was about to meet a military parade, I drove hastily to the side of the road; and having gained the top of the ascent, I discovered (I suppose) about forty black men all chained together after the following manner; each of them was handcuffed, and they were arranged in rank and file. A chain, perhaps forty feet long, the size of a fifth-horse-chain, was stretched between the two ranks, to which short chains were joined, which connected with the handcuffs. Behind them were, I suppose, about thirty women in double rank, the couples tied hand to hand. A solemn sadness sat on every countenance, and the dismal silence of this march of

despair was interrupted only by the sound of two violins ; yes, as if to add insult to injury, the foremost couple were furnished with a violin apiece ; the second couple were ornamented with cockades, while near the centre waved the republican flag carried by a hand *literally in chains*. I perhaps have mistaken some punctilios of the arrangement, for "my soul was sick," my feelings were mingled and pungent. As a man, I sympathized with suffering humanity ; as a Christian, I mourned over the transgressions of God's holy law ; and as a *republican*, I felt indignant to see the flag of my beloved country thus insulted. I could not forbear exclaiming to the lordly driver who rode at his ease along side : "Heaven will curse that man who engages in such traffic, and the government that protects him in it." I pursued my journey till evening, and put up for the night. When I mentioned the scene I had witnessed, "Ah!" cried my landlady, "That is my brother." From her I learned that his name is Stone, of Bourbon county, Kentucky, in partnership with one Kinningham of Paris ; and that a few days before he had purchased a negro woman from a man in Nicholas county ; she refused to go with him ; he attempted to compel her, but she defended herself. Without further ceremony, he stepped back, and by a blow on the side of her head with the butt of his whip brought her to the ground ; he tied her, and drove her off.

GEORGE WHITFIELD.

As I lately passed through your provinces in my way hither, I was sensibly touched with a fellow-feeling for the miseries of the poor negroes. Whether it be lawful for Christians to buy slaves, and thereby encourage the nations from whom they are bought to be at perpetual war with each other, I shall not take upon me to determine. Sure I am it is sinful, when they have bought them, to use them as bad as though they were brutes, nay worse ; and whatever particular exceptions there may be (as I would charitably hope there are some) I fear the generality of you, who own negroes, are liable to such a charge ; for your slaves, I believe, work as hard, if not harder than the horses whereon you ride. These, after they have done their work, are fed and taken proper care of ; but many negroes when wearied with labor on your plantations, have been obliged to grind their corn after their return home. Your dogs are caressed and fondled at your table ; but your slaves, who are frequently styled dogs or beasts, have not an equal privilege. They are scarce permitted to pick up the crumbs which fall from their master's table. Not to mention what numbers have been given up to the inhuman usage of cruel taskmasters, who, by their unrelenting scourges have ploughed their backs, and made long furrows, and at length brought them even unto death. When passing along I have viewed your plantations cleared and cultivated, many spacious houses built, and the owners of them faring sumptuously every day, my blood has frequently almost run cold within me, to consider how many of your slaves had neither convenient food to eat nor proper raiment to put on, notwithstanding most of the comforts you enjoy were solely owing to their indefatigable labors.—*Letter to the inhabitants of Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina, 1739.*

JOHN RANKIN.

In connexion with their extreme suffering occasioned by want of clothing, I shall notice those which arise from want of food. As the making of grain is the main object of their mancipation, masters will sacrifice as little as possible in giving them food. It often happens that what will barely keep them alive, is all that a cruel avarice will allow them. Hence, in some instances, their allowance has been reduced to a single pint of corn each, during the day and night. And in some places the best allowance is a peck of corn each during the week, while perhaps they are not permitted to taste meat so much as once in the course of seven years, except what little they may be able to steal! Thousands of them are pressed with the gnawings of cruel hunger during their whole lives—an insatiable avarice will not grant them a single comfortable meal to satisfy the cravings of nature! Such cruelty far exceeds the powers of description!

The slaveholder has it in his power to violate the chastity of his slaves. And not a few are beastly enough to exercise such power. Hence it happens, that in some families it is difficult to distinguish the free children from the slaves. It is sometimes the case, that the largest part of the master's own children are born, not of his wife, but of the wives and daughters of his slaves, whom he has basely prostituted as well as enslaved. His poor slaves are his property, and, therefore, must yield to his lusts as well as to his avarice! He may perpetrate upon them the most horrid crimes, and they have no redress! The wretched slave must, without a murmuring word, give up his wife, or daughter, for prostitution, should his master be vile enough to demand her of him! It must be a horrid crime for any state to give one man such power over another, and such crime has every slaveholding state committed. I am far from wishing to intimate that this power is generally so grossly exercised as it might be. Some slaveholders are, doubtless, as chaste as any other people, and conscientiously endeavor to preserve the chastity of their slaves; but I wish to show the extent of the power with which they are vested, and the shocking manner in which it is sometimes exercised.

In this place I will further remark, that slavery not merely puts the chastity of the slave in the power of the master, but also exposes it to attacks from every lecherous class of men. Slaves cannot bear testimony against people that are white and free—hence a wide door is opened for the practice, both of violence and seduction, without detection; and the consequences of this are exceedingly manifest in every slaveholding country—every town and its vicinity soon become crowded with mulattoes. In this respect slavery is the very sink of filthiness, and the source of every hateful abomination. It seems to me astonishing that any government, much more that of the United States, should sanction such a source of monstrous crime as slavery evidently is!

A wealthy citizen of Georgia purchased, on shipboard, six African girls, who probably were directly from Africa, and having brought them home, he put them into the hands of his overseer, and ordered him to assign them a certain portion of labor during each day of the week,

and in case they should fail to perform it, he was commanded to give them a considerable number of lashes each, and add the remainder of the task to the next day's labor, and in case they should fail to perform the whole, he was ordered to add to the number of lashes in proportion to the failure, and still to add the deficiency to the next day's labor, and thus he was daily to increase both the labor and stripes in case of failure. The overseer, hard-hearted as he was, expostulated with him, and assured him that the labor was more than the girls were able to perform, but he swore with a tremendous oath that they should do it or die. The poor creatures commenced the dreadful task, but being unaccustomed to such labor, their hands were soon worn to the quick; this they endured with patience, and did all they could to perform what was assigned them, but they were totally unable to accomplish it; they failed on the first day, and received the cruel lashes. The next morning, with sore backs and bleeding hands they attempted the enlarged task—their hoehandles were soon made red with their innocent blood—they labored with great assiduity, but they could not perform the unreasonable task, and consequently received the enlarged number of lashes. On the third morning they commenced again, but the task was so much enlarged that all hope of performing it was entirely precluded, and the enormously increased number of lashes became certain—the unhappy creatures despaired of life, and concluded that they must inevitably die under the torturing lash, unless they could despatch themselves in some other method. This appeared to be the only means of escaping the most terrible cruelty. Hence they formed and executed the dreadful design of hanging themselves. The horn blew for dinner, all started to their huts, but these unfortunate girls lingered behind, and unobserved by the rest of the company turned aside into a thicket, and there all six hanged themselves! They were soon missed, and search was quickly made for them—they were immediately found, and the cruel master enraged by the disappointment and loss, made every possible exertion to bring them back to life, that they might again fall under the weight of his vengeance! but all his attempts were in vain—their souls were gone into an awful eternity, and had their eternal destiny unalterably fixed! And being exceedingly exasperated on finding that they had escaped from his hand, he ordered a hole to be dug for them, and caused them to be tumbled into it like mere animal carcasses, while he vented the most awful imprecations upon them! And the overseer was ordered to exact from the rest of his slaves what labor he intended them to perform.

A certain citizen of Kentucky purchased a piece of furniture, and after he brought it home, his wife unfortunately broke some small part of it, and that in the presence of a neighboring gentleman; she nevertheless charged it upon a black girl of about seventeen years of age. The girl honestly declared her innocence, but the mistress persisted in her charge against her. At length the brutish master seized the poor unfortunate girl, drew her clothes up over her head, hanged her by them to the limb of a tree, and in that shameful position whipt her several times very severely. By the extremity of torture she was sometimes forced to say that she did break the furniture, but in the

moment of respite, she would honestly deny it again—and this subjected her to more torture. Fortunately for the poor girl the gentleman who was present when the mistress broke the furniture, happened to be passing by—he paused in amazement at the shocking scene—he soon discovered the cause of the cruelty—indignation overcame him—he approached the brutish master and told him that his own wife had broken the furniture in his presence, and declared that if he did not cease from torturing the poor girl he would give him as much as he had given her—with this the shameless monster thought it necessary to comply, and for that time the poor girl was released from his torturing hand. The gentleman who rescued the girl and stated this fact, is now a resident of the state of Ohio, and is known to be a man of truth.

“In the county of Livingston, Ky., near the mouth of the Cumberland, lived Lilburn Lewis, a sister’s son of the venerable Jefferson. He, who ‘suckled at fair Freedom’s breast,’ was the wealthy owner of a considerable number of slaves, whom he drove constantly, fed sparingly, and lashed severely. The consequence was, they would run away. This must have given to a man of spirit and a man of business great anxieties until he found them, or until they had starved out and returned. Among the rest was an ill grown boy about seventeen, who having just returned from a skulking spell, was sent to the spring for water, and in returning let fall an elegant pitcher. It was dashed to shivers upon the rocks. This was the occasion. It was night, and the slaves all at home. The master had them collected into the most roomy negro house, and a rousing fire made. When the door was secured, that none might escape, either through fear of him or sympathy with George, he opened the design of the interview, namely, that they might be effectually taught to stay at home and obey his orders. All things being now in train, he called up George, who approached his master with the most unreserved submission. He bound him with cords, and by the assistance of his younger brother, laid him on a broad bench, or meat block. He now proceeded to WHANG off George by the ankles!! It was with the broad axe!—In vain did the unhappy victim SCREAM AND ROAR! He was completely in his master’s power. Not a hand amongst so many durst interfere. Casting the feet into the fire, he lectured them at some length. He WHACKED HIM OFF below the knees! George roaring out, and praying his master to BEGIN AT THE OTHER END! He admonished them again, throwing the legs into the fire! Then above the knees, tossing the joints into the fire! He again lectured them at leisure. The next stroke severed the thighs from the body. These were also committed to the flames. And so off the arms, head, and trunk, until all was in the fire! Still protracting the intervals with lectures, and threatenings of like punishment in case of disobedience, and running away, or disclosure of this tragedy. Nothing now remained but to consume the flesh and bones; and for this purpose the fire was briskly stirred, until two hours after midnight. WILLIAM DICKEY.”

A member of Lane Seminary, from Alabama, speaking of the cruelties practised upon the slaves, said—“At our house it is so

common to hear their screams from a neighboring plantation, that we think nothing of it. The overseer of this plantation told me one day, he laid a young woman over a log, and beat her so severely that she was soon after delivered of a dead child. A bricklayer, a neighbor of ours, owned a very smart young negro man, who ran away; but was caught. When his master got him home, he stripped him naked, tied him up by his hands, in plain sight and hearing of the academy and the public green, so high that his feet could not touch the ground; then tied them together, and put a long board between his legs to keep him steady. After preparing him in this way, he took a paddle, bored it full of holes, and commenced beating him with it. He continued it leisurely all day. At night his flesh was literally pounded to a jelly. It was two weeks before he was able to walk. No one took any notice of it. No one thought any wrong was done."

"Mr. —, of Missouri, amongst others, related the following:— "A young woman who was generally very badly treated, after receiving a more severe whipping than usual, ran away. In a few days she came back, and was sent into the field to work. At this time, the garment next her skin was stiff like a scab, from the running of the sores made by the whipping. Towards night, she told her master that she was sick, and wished to go to the house. She went; and as soon as she reached it, laid down on the floor exhausted. The mistress asked her what the matter was? She made no reply. She asked again; but received no answer. 'I'll see,' said she, 'if I can't make you speak.' So taking the tongs, she heated them red hot, and put them upon the bottoms of her feet; then upon her legs and body; and, finally, in a rage, took hold of her throat. This had the desired effect. The poor girl faintly whispered, 'Oh, missee, don't—I am most gone;' and expired."

We want no other commentary on the state of feeling in that community than this. The woman yet lives there, and owns slaves.

A. WATTLES.

LETTER TO MR. TAPPAN.

But let me turn your attention to another species of cruelty. About a year since, I knew a certain slave who had deserted his master, to be caught and for the first night fastened in the stocks. In those same stocks from which at midnight I have heard the cries of distress, while the master slept, and was dreaming perhaps of drinking wine and of discussing the price of cotton. On the next morning he was chained in an immoveable posture, and branded in both cheeks, with red hot stamps of iron. Such are the tender mercies of men who love wealth, and are determined to obtain it at any price.

There was, some time since, brought to trial in this town, a planter residing about fifteen miles distant, for whipping his slave to death. You will suppose of course that he was punished. No sir, he was acquitted, although there could be no doubt of the fact. I heard the tale of murder from a man who was acquainted with all the circumstances. "I was," said he, "passing along the road near the burying ground of the plantation, about nine o'clock at night, when I saw several

lights gleaming through the woods—and as I approached, in order to see what was doing, I beheld the coroner of Natchez with a number of men, standing around the body of a young female, which by the torches seemed almost perfectly white. On inquiry I learned that the master had so unmercifully beaten this girl that she died under the operation. And that also he had so severely punished another of his slaves that he was but just alive.—*Letter to Mr. Tappan from Natchez, 1831.*

CASES OF CRUELTY.

Mr. William Ladd, known as a friend of colonization and an opponent of Anti-Slavery Societies, and not likely, therefore to exaggerate, but rather to soften the harsh features of the system, alludes publicly to the following, among other horrors which he has witnessed: A gentleman of his acquaintance, was offended with a female slave. He seized her by the arm, and thrust her hand into the fire, and there he held it until it was burnt off. "I saw," said Mr. Ladd, "the withered stump,"—*Address at Colonization Society of Massachusetts, 1833.*

"Mr. Sutcliff, an English Quaker, who travelled in this country, relates a case very like that of the Kentucky girl, only that the catastrophe was more shocking. A slave owner, near Lewistown, in the state of Delaware, lost a piece of leather. He charged a little slave boy with stealing it. The boy denied. The master tied the boy's feet, and suspended him from the limb of a tree, attaching a heavy weight to his ankles, as is usual in such cases, to prevent such kicking and writhing as would break the blows. He then whipped; the boy confessed; and then he commenced whipping anew for the offence itself. He was a kind master, and never whipped the lad again, for *he died under the lash!* Then the slaveholder's own son, smitten with remorse, acknowledged that he took the leather.

"An honorable friend, who stands high in the state and in the nation, was present at the burial of a female slave in Mississippi, who had been whipped to death at the post by her master, because she was gone longer of an errand to the neighboring town, than her master thought necessary. Under the lash she protested that she was ill, and was obliged to rest in the fields. To complete the climax of horror, she was delivered of a dead infant before her master had completed his work!"—*Child's Despotism of Freedom.*

Scene in Georgia.—The two convicts were hung together; and after they were quite dead, a consultation was held amongst the gentlemen, as to the future disposition of Billy, who, having been in the house where his master was murdered, and not having given immediate information of the fact, was held to be guilty of concealing the death; and was accordingly sentenced to receive five hundred lashes. I was in the branches of a tree close by the place where this court was held, and distinctly heard its proceedings and judgment. Some went to the woods to cut hickories, whilst others stripped Billy and tied him to a tree. More than twenty long switches, some of them six or seven feet in length, had been procured; and two men applied the rods at

the same time, one standing on each side of the culprit ; one of them using his left hand. I had often seen black men whipped, and had always, where the lash was applied with great severity, heard the sufferer cry out and beg for mercy ; but in this case, the pain inflicted by these double blows of the hickory was so intense, that Billy never uttered so much as a groan ; and I do not believe he breathed for the space of two minutes after he received the first strokes. He shrank his body close to the trunk of the tree, around which his arms and legs were lashed ; drew his shoulders up to his head like a dying man, and trembled, or rather shivered, in all his members. The blood flowed from the commencement, and in a few minutes lay in small puddles at the root of the tree. I saw flakes of flesh as long as my finger fall out of the gashes in his back ; and I believe he was insensible during all the time that he was receiving the last two hundred lashes. When the whole five hundred had been counted by the person appointed to perform this duty, the half-dead body was unbound and laid in the shade of the tree upon which I sat. The gentlemen who had done the whipping, eight or ten in number, being joined by their friends, then came under the tree, and drank punch until their dinner was made ready, under a booth of green boughs at a short distance.

After dinner, Billy, who had been groaning on the ground where he was laid, was taken up, placed in the cart in which Lucy and Frank had been brought to the gallows, and conveyed to the dwelling of his late master, where he was confined to the house and his bed more than three months, and was never worth much afterwards, while I remained in Georgia.

Certainly those who were hanged well deserved their punishment, but it was a very arbitrary exercise of power to whip a man until he was insensible, because he did not prevent a murder which was committed without his knowledge ; and I could not understand the right of punishing him because he was so weak or timorous, as to refrain from a disclosure of the crime the moment it came to his ears.—*Life of Charles Ball.*

[Those who are desirous of witnessing a further exposition of the legitimately bitter fruits of Slavery, are referred to "AMERICAN SLAVERY AS IT IS;—Testimony of a Thousand WITNESSES," for sale at the Anti-Slavery Depositories.]

THE AFRICAN CHARACTER.

MUNGO PARK.

I was fully convinced, that whatever difference there is between the negro and the European, in the conformation of the nose, and the color of the skin, there is none in the genuine sympathies and characteristic feelings of our common nature.

At Segó I should have been under the necessity of resting among the branches of the tree. About sunset, however, as I was preparing to pass the night in this manner, and had turned my horse loose, that he might graze at liberty, a woman, returning from the labors of the field, stopped to observe me. Perceiving that I was weary and dejected, she inquired into my situation, which I briefly explained to her; whereupon, with looks of great compassion, she took up my saddle and bridle and told me to follow her. Having conducted me into her hut, she lighted a lamp, spread a mat on the floor, and told me I might remain there for the night. Finding that I was hungry, she went out, and soon returned with a very fine fish, which being broiled upon some embers, she gave me for supper. The women then resumed their task of spinning cotton, and lightened their labor with songs, one of which must have been composed extempore, for I myself was the subject of it. It was sung by one of the young women, the rest joining in a kind of chorus. The air was sweet and plaintive, and the words literally translated, were these:

“The winds roar’d, and the rains fell,
The poor white man, faint and weary,
Came and sat under our tree.—
He has no mother to bring him milk;
No wife to grind his corn.

CHORUS.

“Let us pity the white man;
No mother has he to bring him milk.
No wife to grind his corn.”

Trifling as this recital may appear, the circumstance was highly affecting to a person in my situation. I was oppressed with such unexpected kindness, and sleep fled from my eyes.

Mr. Park having travelled in company with a coflle of thirty-five slaves, thus describes his feelings as he came near the coast: “Although I was now approaching the end of my tedious and toilsome journey, and expected in another day to meet with countrymen and friends, I could not part with my unfortunate fellow-travellers,—doomed as I knew most of them to be, to a life of slavery in a foreign

land,—without great emotion. During a peregrination of more than five hundred miles, exposed to the burning rays of a tropical sun, these poor slaves, amidst their own infinitely greater sufferings, would commiserate mine, and frequently, of their own accord, bring water to quench my thirst, and at night collect branches and leaves to prepare me a bed in the wilderness. We parted with mutual regret and blessings. My good wishes and prayers were all I could bestow upon them, and it afforded me some consolation to be told that they were sensible I had no more to give.

On the other hand, it is impossible for me to forget the disinterested charity, and tender solicitude, with which many of these poor heathens, from the sovereign of Segó, to the poor women who at different times received me into their cottages, sympathized with my sufferings, relieved my distress, and contributed to my safety. Perhaps this acknowledgement is more particularly due to the female part of the nation. Among the men, as the reader must have seen, my reception though generally kind, was sometimes otherwise. It varied according to the tempers of those to whom I made application. Avarice in some, and bigotry in others, had closed up the avenues to compassion; but I do not recollect a single instance of hard-heartedness towards me in the women. In all my wanderings and wretchedness, I found them uniformly kind and compassionate; and I can truly say, as Mr. Ledyard has eloquently said before me:—

“To a woman I never addressed myself in the language of decency and friendship, without receiving a decent and friendly answer. If I was hungry or thirsty, wet or ill, they did not hesitate, like the men, to perform a generous action. In so free and so kind a manner did they contribute to my relief, that if I was thirsty, I drank the sweeter draught; and if I were hungry, I ate the coarsest meal with a double relish.”

ADANSON, who visited Senegal, in 1754, describes the negroes as sociable, obliging, humane, hospitable. “Their amiable simplicity,” says he, “in this enchanting country, recalled to me the idea of the primitive race of man; I thought I saw the world in its infancy. They are distinguished by tenderness for their parents, and a great respect for the aged.” ROBIN speaks of a slave at Martinico, who having gained money sufficient for his own ransom, preferred to purchase his mother’s freedom.

PROYART, in his history of Loango, acknowledges that the negroes on the coast, who associate with Europeans, are inclined to licentiousness and fraud; but he says those of the interior are humane, obliging, and hospitable. GOLBERRY repeats the same praise, and rebukes the presumption of white men in despising “nations improperly called savage, among whom we find men of integrity, models of filial, conjugal, and paternal affection, who know all the energies and refinements of virtue; among whom sentimental impressions are more deep, because they observe, more than we, the dictates of nature, and know how to sacrifice personal interest to the ties of friendship.”

ALEXANDER H. EVERETT.

Sir, we are sometimes told that all these efforts will be unavailing—that the African is a degraded member of the human family—that a man with a dark skin and curled hair, is necessarily, as such, incapable of improvement and civilization, and condemned by the vice of his physical conformation, to vegetate for ever in a state of hopeless barbarism. Mr. President, I reject, with contempt and indignation, this miserable heresy. In replying to it, the friends of truth and humanity have not hitherto done justice to the argument. In order to prove that the blacks were capable of intellectual efforts, they have painfully collected a few imperfect specimens of what some of them have done in this way, even in the degraded condition which they occupy at present in Christendom. Sir, this is not the way to treat the subject. Go back to an earlier period in the history of our race. See what the blacks were and what they did three thousand years ago, in the period of their greatness and glory, when they occupied the fore front in the march of civilization—when they constituted in fact the whole civilized world of their time. Trace this very civilization, of which we are so proud, to its origin, and see where you will find it. We received it from our European ancestors: they had it from the Greeks and Romans, and the Jews. But, Sir, where did the Greeks and the Romans and the Jews get it? They derived it from Ethiopia and Egypt,—in one word, from Africa. Moses, we are told, was instructed in all the learning of the Egyptians. The founders of the principal Grecian cities, such as Athens, Thebes, and Delphi, came from Egypt, and for centuries afterwards, their descendants returned to that country, as the source and centre of civilization. There it was that the generous and stirring spirits of the time—Herodotus, Homer, Plato, Pythagoras, and the rest, made their noble voyages of intellectual and moral discovery, as ours now make them in England, France, Germany, and Italy. Sir, the Egyptians were the masters of the Greeks and the Jews, and consequently of all the modern nations in civilization, and they had carried it very nearly as far—in some respects, perhaps, a good deal further than any subsequent people. The ruins of the Egyptian temples laugh to scorn the architectural monuments of any other part of the world. They will be what they are now, the delight and admiration of travellers from all quarters, when the grass is growing on the sites of St. Peter's and St. Paul's,—the present pride of Rome and London.

Well, Sir, who were the Egyptians? They were Africans:—and of what race?—It is sometimes pretended, that though Africans, and of Ethiopian extraction, they were not black. But what says the father of history, who had travelled among them, and knew their appearance, as well as we know that of our neighbors in Canada? Sir, Herodotus tells you that the Egyptians were blacks, with curled hair. Some writers have undertaken to dispute his authority, but I cannot bring myself to believe that the father of history did not know black from white. It seems, therefore, that for this very civilization of which we are so proud, and which is the only ground of our present

claim of superiority, we are indebted to the ancestors of these very blacks, whom we are pleased to consider as naturally incapable of civilization.—*Speech at Massachusetts Colonization Society, Feb. 7, 1833.*

ARCHBISHOP SHARP.

That Africa, which is now more fruitful of monsters, than it was once for excellently wise and learned men,—that Africa, which formerly afforded us our *Clemens*, our *Origen*, our *Tertullian*, our *Cyprian*, our *Augustin*, and many other extraordinary lights in the Church of God,—that famous Africa, in whose soil, Christianity did thrive so prodigiously, and could boast of so many flourishing churches,—alas! is now a wilderness. “The wild boars have broken into the vineyard, and ate it up, and it brings forth nothing but briars and thorns,” to use the words of the prophet. And who knows but God may suddenly make this church and nation, this our England, which, Jeshurun-like, is waxed fat and grown proud, and has kicked against God, *such another example of vengeance of this kind.*—*Speech in House of Commons.*

A CITIZEN OF THE WORLD.

The sum of five thousand pounds sterling, stands invested for the mutual benefit of two very excellent institutions in London—the Magdalen Asylum and the Foundling Hospital. It was bequeathed to them by one OMICHAND, a *black merchant* in Calcutta, who left many equally liberal donations to other charitable institutions in all parts of the world.

ANOTHER.—A poor negro walking towards Deptford, Eng., saw by the road side an old sailor of a different complexion, with but one arm and two wooden legs. The worthy African immediately took three halfpence and a farthing, his little all, from the side-pocket of his tattered trowsers, and forced them into the sailor's hand, while he wiped the tears from his eye with the corner of his blue patched jacket, and then walked away quite happy.—*Sholto and Reuben Percy's Anecdotes.*

TOUSSAINT L'OUVERTURE.

CITIZEN CONSUL,—Your letter, of the 27th Brumaire, has been transmitted to me by Citizen Le Clerc, your brother-in-law, whom you have appointed *Captain General* of this island, a title not recognised by the Constitution of St. Domingo. The same messenger has restored two innocent children to the fond embraces of a doting father. What a noble instance of European humanity! But, dear as those pledges are to me, and painful as our separation is, I will owe no obligations to my enemies, and I therefore return them to the custody of their *jailers*.

You ask me, do I desire consideration, honors, and fortune? Most certainly I do, but not of thy giving. My consideration is placed in the respect of my countrymen, my honors in their attachment, my fortune in their disinterested fidelity. Has this *mean* idea of personal aggrandizement been held out in the hope that I would be induced thereby to betray the cause I have undertaken? The power I possess has been as *legitimately* acquired as your own, and nought but the

decided voice of the people of St. Domingo shall compel me to relinquish it.

It is not cemented by blood, or maintained by the artifices of European policy. "The ferocious men whose persecutions I put a stop to," have confessed my clemency, and I have pardoned the wretch whose dagger has been aimed at my life. If I have removed from this island certain turbulent spirits, who strove to feed the flames of civil war, their guilt has been first established before a competent tribunal, and finally confessed by themselves. Is there one of them who can say that he has been condemned *unheard or untried*? And yet these monsters are to be brought back once more, and, aided by the bloodhounds of Cuba, are to be uncoupled and hallooed to hunt us down and devour us; and this by men who dare to call themselves *Christians*.—*Letter to Bonaparte, 1803.*

"He was born a slave in St. Domingo, 1745. In his youth he was noted for his benevolence and tender feeling towards brutes, and his stability of temper. By assiduity he learnt to read, write and cipher, this, and his regular and amiable deportment, gained the esteem of his master, whom he saved in the revolution of 1791. That he never broke his word was proverbial. His unlimited power he never abused. The French general, being unable to corrupt, abducted him to a dungeon in France, where he perished in 1803."—*History of Hayti.*

Godwin, in his admirable Lectures on Colonial Slavery, says: "Can the West India Islands, since their first discovery by Columbus, boast a single name which deserves comparison with that of Toussaint L'Ouverture?" He is thus spoken of by *Vincent* in his Reflections on the State of St. Domingo: "Toussaint L'Ouverture is the most active and indefatigable man, of whom it is possible to form an idea. He is always present wherever difficulty or danger makes his presence necessary. His great sobriety,—the power of living without repose,—the facility with which he resumes the affairs of the cabinet, after the most tiresome excursions,—of answering daily a hundred letters,—and of habitually tiring five secretaries—render him so superior to all around him, that their respect and submission almost amount to fanaticism. It is certain no man in modern times has obtained such an influence over a mass of ignorant people, as General Toussaint possesses over his brethren of St. Domingo. He is endowed with a prodigious memory. He is a good father and a good husband."

Toussaint, Thou hast left behind
Powers that will work for thee; air, earth and skies;
There's not a breathing of the common wind
That will forget thee; thou hast great allies.
Thy friends are exultations, agonies,
And love, and man's unconquerable mind.

WORDSWORTH.

PHILLIS WHEATLY.

No more America, in mournful strain,
Of wrongs and grievance unredressed complain;
No longer shalt thou dread the iron chain
Which wanton Tyranny, with lawless hand,
Has made, and with it meant t' enslave the land.

Should you, my lord, while you peruse my song,
 Wonder from whence my love of Freedom sprung,
 Whence flow these wishes for the common good,
 By feeling hearts alone best understood,
 I, young in life, by seeming cruel fate
 Was snatched from Afric's fancied happy seat:
 What pangs excruciating must molest,
 What sorrows labor in my parent's breast!
 Steeled was that soul, and by no misery moved,
 That from a father seized his babe beloved:
 Such, such my case. And can I then but pray
 Others may never feel tyrannic sway?

HISTORICAL EVIDENCE,

Concerning the Effects of Immediate Emancipation.

WHEN the question of immediate abolition was first started in England, the friends of slavery vociferated nothing more loudly, than the danger of universal insurrection and bloodshed; and nothing took stronger hold of the sympathies and conscientious fears of the people, than these repeated assertions. This is precisely the state of things in our own country, at the present time. We all know that it is not according to human nature for men to turn upon their benefactors, and do violence, at the very moment they receive what they have long desired; but we are so repeatedly told the slaves *will* murder their masters, if they give them freedom, that we can hardly help believing that, in this peculiar case, the laws of human nature *must* be reversed. Let us try to divest ourselves of the fierce excitement now abroad in the community, and calmly inquire what is the testimony of history on this important subject.

In June, 1793, a civil war occurred between the aristocrats and republicans of St. Domingo; and the planters called in the aid of Great Britain. The opposing party proclaimed freedom to all slaves, and armed them against the British. It is generally supposed that the abolition of slavery in St. Domingo was *in consequence of insurrections* among the slaves; but this is not true. *It was entirely a measure of political expediency.* And what were the consequences of this sudden and universal emancipation? Whoever will take the pains to search the histories of that island, will find the whole colored population remained faithful to the republican party which had given them freedom. The British were defeated, and obliged to evacuate the island. The sea being at that time full of British cruisers, the French had no time to attend to St. Domingo, and the colonists were left to govern themselves. And what was the conduct of the emancipated slaves, under these circumstances? About 500,000 slaves had instantaneously ceased to be property, and were invested with the rights of men; yet there was a decrease of crime, and every thing went on quickly and prosperously. Col. Malenfant, who resided on the island, says, in his historical memoir: "After this public act of emancipation, the negroes remained quiet both in the south and west, and they continued to work upon all the plantations. Even upon those estates which had been

abandoned by owners and managers, the negroes continued their labor where there were any agents to guide; and where no white men were left to direct them, they betook themselves to planting provisions. The colony was flourishing. The whites lived happy and in peace upon their estates, and the negroes continued to work for them."

General Lacroix, in his memoirs, speaking of the same period, says: "The colony marched as by enchantment towards its ancient splendor; cultivation prospered; every day produced perceptible proofs of its progress."

This prosperous state of things lasted about eight years; and would probably have continued to this day, had not Bonaparte, at the instigation of the old aristocratic French planters, sent an army to deprive the blacks of the freedom which they had used so well. It was the attempt to restore slavery, that produced all the bloody horrors of St. Domingo. *Emancipation produced the most blessed effects.*

In June, 1794, Victor Hugo, a French republican general, retook the island of Guadaloupe from the British, and immediately proclaimed freedom to all the slaves. They were 85,000 in number, and the whites only 13,000. *No disasters whatever occurred in consequence of this step.*

On the 10th of October, 1811, the congress of Chili decreed that every child born after that day should be free.

In 1821, the congress of Colombia emancipated all slaves who had borne arms in favor of the republic; and provided for the emancipation in eighteen years of the whole slave population, amounting to 900,000.

In September, 1829, the government of Mexico granted immediate and unqualified freedom to every slave. *In all these cases, not one instance of insurrection or bloodshed has ever been heard of, as the result of emancipation.*

In July, 1823, 30,000 Hottentots in Cape Colony, were emancipated from their long and cruel bondage, and admitted by law to all the rights and privileges of the white colonists. Outrages were predicted, as the inevitable consequence of freeing human creatures so completely brutalized as the poor Hottentots; but all went on peaceably; and as a gentleman facetiously remarked, "Hottentots as they were, they worked better for Mr. Cash, than they had ever done for Mr. Lash."

In the South African Commercial Advertiser of February, 1831, it is stated: "Three thousand prize negroes have received their freedom; four hundred in one day; but not the least difficulty or disaster occurred. *Servants found masters—masters hired servants—all gained homes, and at night scarcely an idler was to be seen.*—To state that sudden emancipation would create disorder and distress to those you mean to serve, is not reason, but the plea of all men adverse to abolition."

On the 1st of August, 1834, the government of Great Britain emancipated the slaves in all her colonies, of which she had twenty; seventeen in the West Indies, and three in the East Indies.

The numerical superiority of the negroes in the West Indies is great. In Jamaica there were 331,000 slaves, and only 37,000 whites. By the clumsy apprenticeship system, the old stimulus of the whip was taken away, while the new and better stimulus of wages was not applied. The negroes were aware that if they worked well they

should not be paid for it, and that if they worked ill they could not be flogged, as they had formerly been. Yet even under these disadvantageous circumstances, no difficulties occurred except in three of the islands; and even there the difficulties were slight and temporary. THE WORST ENEMIES OF ABOLITION HAVE NOT YET BEEN ABLE TO SHOW THAT A SINGLE DROP OF BLOOD HAS BEEN SHED, OR A SINGLE PLANTATION FIRED, IN CONSEQUENCE OF EMANCIPATION, IN ALL THE BRITISH WEST INDIES!

Antigua and Bermuda did not try the apprenticeship system; but *at once* gave the stimulus of wages. *In those islands not the slightest difficulties have occurred.* The journals of Antigua say: "The great doubt is solved; and the highest hopes of the negro's friends are fulfilled. Thirty thousand men have passed from slavery into freedom, not only without the slightest irregularity, but with the solemn and decorous tranquillity of a Sabbath!"

In Antigua there are 2,000 whites, 30,000 slaves, and 4,500 free blacks.

Antigua and St. Christopher's are within gunshot of each other; both are sugar growing colonies; and the proportion of blacks is less in St. Christopher's than it is in Antigua; yet the former island has had some difficulty with the *gradual* system, while the quiet of the latter has not been disturbed for one hour by *immediate emancipation*. Do not these facts speak volumes?

The results of the British Emancipation Bill, in a pecuniary point of view, are truly surprising. To the astonishment of even the most sanguine friends of abolition, the plantations of the colonies are more productive, more easily managed and accepted as securities for higher sums on mortgage than ever they were under the slave system. It appears from an official statement, that, in the first quarter of the present year there is an increase over the average of the first quarter of the three years preceding (emancipation,) of the great staples of West Indian produce exported.

From Georgetown, (Demerara,)	20 per cent increase,
From Berbice,	50 per cent increase,
and on coffee about	100 per cent!

The hundred million indemnity thus appears to have been a compensation of a novel kind, a compensation for being made richer.—*New York Evening Post.*

ST. DOMINGO.

In most other countries we have ministers, or at least consuls to watch over the interests of our merchants; but to send a minister or consul to St. Domingo would be so revolting to the feelings of our southern brethren, that they would probably *threaten* to dissolve the Union, and so our merchants are left to take care of their own interests there. It may be useful to compare the *amount* of those interests with the amount of their interests in certain other countries, where we have consuls, and in some instances ministers.

JEAN PIERRE BOYER.

The President of Hayti has received, with your letter of the 10th of October last, the different publications that you have sent him.

His Excellency congratulates you on the perseverance with which you have pursued the work of abolition of slavery. The warmest desires of philanthropists accompany you in this difficult enterprise, and the President of Hayti doubts not that this holy cause will conclude by obtaining the triumph it merits.

I seize, sir, this occasion of assuring you of the particular desire I entertain for the success of your glorious work, and renew the expression of my high esteem.

B. INGINAC.

Letter to B. Lundy, Nov. 17, 1836.

SIMON BOLIVAR.

I beg as fervently of my country as I would for the lives of my children, that you will never consent that clime, or color, or creed, should make any distinction in your republic.—*Address to the Senators of Colombia.*

Legislators! Slavery is the infringement of all laws. A law having a tendency to preserve slavery, would be the grossest sacrilege. Man to be possessed by his fellow man!—man to be made property of! The image of the Deity to be put under the yoke! Let these usurpers show us their title-deeds!—*Address to the Legislature of Bolivia and Peru.*

“This distinguished man, who was second to none for patriotism and political philanthropy that the last dozen centuries have produced, is no more. He has left an example worthy the imitation of all slaveholders of every country and clime.

“In addition to his great and untiring efforts to break the chains of clerical and political bondage that oppressed his countrymen, he acted the part of perfect consistency in using his influence for the enfranchisement of the *African slaves*, who were there reduced to abject servility. We have been informed that, in the early stage of the Colombian revolution, he emancipated from 700 to 1,000 slaves; and that he strenuously and successfully urged the total abolition of slavery by the government. Since his death it is stated that he has freed 150 more by will, who were still held by him, and who probably preferred remaining with him while he lived.

“BENJAMIN LUNDY.”

AUSTRIA.

Extract from an ordinance of his Imperial and Royal Majesty of Austria, dated 25th June, 1826.

“In order to prevent Austrian subjects and vassals from participating in any manner in the slave-trade, and in order to prevent slaves from bad treatment, his Imperial and Royal Majesty, in conformity with the existing laws of Austria (viz. section 16 of the Civil Code,

which determines that every human being, in virtue of those rights which are recognised by *reason*, is to be considered a civil person, and that, therefore, slavery, and every exercise of power relative to the state of slavery, are not tolerated in the imperial and royal dominions,) and further, in conformity with section 78 of the first part of the Penal Code, which declares every hindrance of the exercise of personal liberty a crime of public violence—has been graciously pleased, by his sovereign resolution of 25th June, 1826, to determine and order as follows:—Art. I. Any slave, from the moment he treads on the soil of the Imperial and Royal Dominions of Austria, or even merely steps on board of an Austrian vessel, shall be free.”

Austrian Consulate General, New York, Oct. 18, 1830.

L. LEDERER.

RUSSIA.

CONSULAR NOTICE.—Certain individuals who, in defiance of the laws of their own country, still continue to engage in the African slave-trade, having given cause for suspicion that they intend to make use of the Russian flag as a protection against the right of search and seizure, mutually assumed and conceded by the powers participating in the treaty for the suppression of this nefarious traffic, the undersigned, the Russian Consul General, at New York, being specially instructed by his government, gives hereby public notice to all persons whom it may concern, that the Russian flag can in no case be resorted to without the previous permission of the Imperial Government, and without legal authorization in due form, and in strict accordance with the laws of the empire; that any proceeding to the contrary shall be considered as a *fraud*, exposing the persons guilty of it to all its consequences; and that no slave-trader, in any circumstances whatever, when seized under the Russian flag, or otherwise, can invoke the aid of the Imperial Government to screen him from just and well-merited punishment.

Russe du Consulate General, New York, April 2, 1836.

ALEXIS EUSTAPHIEVE.

FRANCE.

MARSELLOISE HYMN.

With luxury and pride surrounded,
 The vile insatiate despots dare
 (Their thirst of power and gold unbounded)
 To mete and vend the light and air;
 Like beasts of burden would they load us,
 Like demons bid their slaves adore;
 But man is man, and who is more?
 Then shall they longer lash and goad us?

O Liberty! can man resign thee,
 Once having felt thy generous flame?
 Can dungeon's bolts, or bars confine thee,
 Or whips thy noble spirit tame?
 Too long the world has wept bewailing
 That falsehood's dagger tyrants wield;
 But freedom is our sword and shield,
 And all their arts are unavailing!

MONTESQUIEU.

Slavery is not useful either to the master or to the slave; to the slave, because he can do nothing by virtue; to the master, because he contracts with his slaves all sorts of evil habits, inures himself insensibly to neglect every moral virtue, and becomes proud, passionate, hard-hearted, violent, voluptuous, and cruel. The slave sees a society happy whereof he is not even a part; he finds that security is established for others, but not for him: he perceives that his master has a soul capable of self-advancement, while his own is violently and for ever repressed. Nothing puts one nearer the condition of the beasts than always to see freemen and not to be free. *Such a person is the natural enemy of the society in which he lives.*

It is impossible to allow the negroes are men, because if we allow them to be men, it will begin to be believed that we are not Christians.

JEAN JACQUES ROUSSEAU.

To renounce our liberty is to renounce our quality of man, and with it all the rights and duties of humanity; and no adequate compensation can possibly be made for such a sacrifice; as it is in itself incompatible with the nature of man, whose actions, when once he is deprived of his free will, must be destitute of all morality. In a word, a convention which stipulates for absolute authority on one side, and unlimited obedience on the other, must always be considered as vain and contradictory. What right can my slave have that is not mine, since every thing that he has belongs to me; and to speak of the right of me against myself is absolute nonsense.

Thus in whatever light we view things, the right of slavery is found to be null; not only because it is illegal, but because it can have no existence; for the terms *slavery* and *right* contradict and exclude each other; and be it from man to man, or from a man to a nation, it would be equally nonsensical to say—*I make a covenant with you entirely at your expense, and for my benefit; I will observe it as far as my inclination leads me, and you shall observe it as far as I please.*—[*On the Social Contract.*]

BUFFON.

Upon the whole, it is apparent that the unfortunate negroes are endowed with excellent hearts, and possess the seeds of every human virtue. I cannot write their history, without lamenting their miserable condition. Is it not more than enough to reduce men to slavery, and to oblige them to labor perpetually, without the capacity of acquiring property? To these, is it necessary to add cruelty, and blows, and to abuse them worse than brutes? Humanity revolts against those odious oppressions which result from avarice, and which would have been daily renewed, had not the laws given a friendly check to the brutality of masters, and fixed limits to the sufferings of their slaves. They are forced to labor; and yet the coarsest food is dealt out to them with a sparing hand. "They support," say their obdurate taskmasters, "hunger without inconvenience; a single

European meal is sufficient provision to a negro for three days ; however little they eat or sleep they are always equally strong and equally fit for labor." How can men, in whose breasts a single spark of humanity remains unextinguished, adopt such detestable maxims? How dare they by such barbarous and diabolical arguments, attempt to palliate those oppressions which originate solely from their thirst of gold? But let us abandon those hardened monsters to perpetual infamy and return to our subject.—*Natural History.*

H. GREGOIRE.

If, says *Price*, you have a right to make another man a slave, he has a right to make you a slave ; and if we have no right says *Ramsay*, to sell him, no one has a right to purchase him.

If ever negroes, bursting their chains, should come (which Heaven forbid) on the European coast, to drag whites of both sexes from their families ; to chain them and conduct them to Africa, and mark them with a hot iron ; if whites stolen, sold, purchased by crimes, and placed under the guidance of merciless inspectors, were immediately compelled by the stroke of the whip, to work in a climate injurious to their health, where, at the close of each day, they could have no other consolation than that of advancing another step to the tomb—no other perspective than to suffer and to die in all the anguish of despair—if devoted to misery and ignominy, they were excluded from all the privileges of society, and declared legally incapable of judicial action, their testimony would not have been admitted even against the black class ; if driven from the sidewalks, they were compelled to mingle with the animals in the middle of the street—if a subscription were made to have them *lashed* in a mass, and their backs, to prevent gangrene, covered with pepper and with salt—if the forfeit for killing them were but a trifling sum—if a reward were offered for apprehending those who escape from slavery—if those who escape were hunted by a pack of hounds, trained to carnage—if, blaspheming the Divinity, the blacks pretended, that by their origin they had permission of Heaven to preach passive obedience and resignation to the whites—if greedy hireling writers published, that for this reason, just reprisals may be exercised against the *rebellious* whites, and that white slaves are happy, more happy than the peasants in the bosom of Africa ;—in a word, if all the arts of cunning and calumny, all the strength and fury of avarice, all the inventions of ferocity were directed against you, by a coalition of dogs, merchants, priests, kings, soldiers, and colonists, what cry of horror would resound through these countries? To express it, new epithets would be sought ; a crowd of writers, and particularly of poets, would exhaust their eloquent lamentations, provided that having nothing to fear, there was something to gain. Europeans, reverse this hypothesis, and see what you are !

Yes, I repeat it, there is not a vice, not a species of wickedness, of which Europe is not guilty towards negroes, of which she has not shown them the example. Avenging God! suspend thy thunder, exhaust thy compassion, in giving her time and courage to repair, if possible, these horrors and atrocities.—*Faculties of Negroes.*

THE ABBE RAYNAL.

Will it be said that he, who wants to make me a slave, does me no injury, but that he only makes use of his rights? Where are those rights? Who hath stamped upon them so sacred a character as to silence mine?

He who supports the system of slavery, is the enemy of the whole human race. He divides it into two societies of legal assassins; the oppressors, and the oppressed. It is the same thing as proclaiming to the world, if you would preserve your life, instantly take away mine, for I want to have yours.

But the negroes, they say, are a race born for slavery; their dispositions are narrow, treacherous, and wicked; they themselves allow the superiority of our understandings, and almost acknowledge the justice of our authority. Yes; the minds of the negroes are contracted, because slavery destroys all the springs of the soul. They are wicked, but not equally so with you. They are treacherous, because they are under no obligation to speak truth to their tyrants. They acknowledge the superiority of our understandings, because we have abused their ignorance. They allow the justice of our authority, because we have abused their weakness.

I shall not be afraid to cite to the tribunal of reason and justice those governments, which tolerate this cruelty, or which even are not ashamed to make it the basis of their power.

JAQUES PIERRE BRISSOT.

When you run over Maryland and Virginia, you conceive yourself in a different world; and you are convinced of it, when you converse with the inhabitants.

They speak not here of projects for freeing the negroes; they praise not the societies of London and America; they read not the works of Clarkson—No; the indolent masters behold with uneasiness the efforts that are making to render freedom universal.

“God has created men of all nations, of all languages, of all colors, equally free; Slavery, in all its forms, in all its degrees, is a violation of the Divine laws; and a degradation of human nature.”

[*Travels in the United States, 1788.*]

JONATHAN SWIFT.

ABI VIATOR,
ET IMITARE, SI POTERIS,
STRENUM PRO VIRILI LIBERTATIS VINDICEM.

(GO TRAVELLER,
AND IMITATE IF YOU CAN,
A STRENUOUS ADVOCATE OF HUMAN LIBERTY.)

*From the Epitaph of Dean Swift,
Written by himself, and engraved on his monument in St.
Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin.*

JOHN PHILPOT CURRAN.

“UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION.”—I speak in the spirit of the British Law, which makes liberty commensurate with, and inseparable from, the British soil—which proclaims, even to the stranger and the sojourner, the moment he sets his foot upon British earth, that the ground on which he treads is holy, and consecrated by the genius of Universal Emancipation. No matter in what language his doom may have been pronounced; no matter what complexion incompatible with freedom, an Indian or an African sun may have burnt upon him; no matter in what disastrous battle his liberty may have been cloven down; no matter with what solemnities he may have been devoted upon the altar of slavery; the first moment he touches the sacred soil of Britain, the altar and the god sink together in the dust; his soul walks abroad in her own majesty; his body swells beyond the measure of his chains, that burst from around him, and he stands redeemed, regenerated, and disenthralled, by the irresistible Genius of UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION.

HENRY GRATTAN.

Liberty—and is this subject a matter of indifference?—Liberty, which, like the Deity, is an essential spirit best known by its consequences—liberty, which now animates you in your battles by sea and land, and lifts you up proudly superior to your enemies—liberty, that glorious spark and emanation of the Divinity, which fired your ancestors, and taught them to feel like an Hampden, that it was not life, but the condition of living! An Irishman sympathizes in these noble sentiments—wherever he goes—to whatever quarter of the earth he journeys—whatever wind blows his poor garments, let him but have the pride, the glory, *the ostentation of liberty!*

MARIA EDGEWORTH.

Are we disposed to pity the slave-merchant, who, urged by the maniacal desire for gold, hears, unmoved, the groans of his fellow-creatures, the execrations of mankind, and that “small still voice,” which haunts those who are stained with blood?—*Practical Education.*

Granting it to be physically impossible that the world should exist without rum and sugar and indigo, why could they not be produced by freemen as well as by slaves? If we hired negroes for laborers, instead of purchasing them for slaves, do you think they would not work as well as now? Does any negro, under the fear of the overseer, work harder than a Birmingham journeyman, or a Newcastle collier; who toil for themselves and their families?

The law, in our case, seems to make the right; and the very reverse ought to be done; the right should make the law.

THOMAS MOORE.

Who can, with patience, for a moment see
 The medley mass of pride and misery,
 Of whips and charters, manacles and rights,
 Of slaving blacks and democratic whites,
 And all the piebald policy that reigns
 In free confusion o'er Columbia's plains?
 To think that man,—thou just and gentle God,
 Should stand before thee with a tyrant's rod,
 O'er creatures like himself, with souls from thee,
 Yet dare to boast of perfect liberty!!

Away! away! I'd rather hold my neck
 By doubtful tenure from a Sultan's beck,
 In climes where liberty has scarce been nam'd
 Nor any right, but that of ruling claim'd,
 Than thus to live, where boasted Freedom waves
 Her fustain flag in mockery over SLAVES;—
 Where motley laws, (admitting no degree
 Betwixt the basely slav'd and madly free,)
 Alike the bondage and the license suit,—
 The brute made ruler, and the man made brute!

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

The Americans, in their conduct towards the slaves, were traitors to the cause of human liberty, foul detractors of the democratic principle which he had cherished throughout his political life, and blasphemers of that great and sacred name which they pretended to recognise. For, in their solemn league and covenant, the Declaration of American Independence, they declared that all men (he used their own words) have certain "inalienable rights,"—these they defined to be, life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. To maintain these, they pledged themselves with all the solemnity of an oath, in the presence of Almighty God. The aid which they had invoked from heaven had been awarded to them, but they had violated their awfully solemn compact with the Deity, and set at nought every principle which they professed to hold sacred, by keeping two and a half millions of their fellow-men in bondage. In reprobation of that disgraceful conduct, his humble voice had been heard across the wide waves of the Atlantic. Like the thunder-storm in its strength, it had careered against the breeze, armed with the lightning of Christian truth. (Great cheering.) And let them seek to repress it as they may—let them murder and assassinate in the true spirit of Lynch law; the storm would wax louder and louder around them, till the claims of justice became too strong to be withstood, and the black man would stand up too big for his chains. It seemed, indeed—he hoped what he was about to say was not profanation—as if the curse of the Almighty had already overtaken them. For the first time in their political history, disgraceful tumult and anarchy had been witnessed in their cities. Blood had been shed without the sanction of law, and even Sir Robert Peel had been enabled to taunt the Americans with gross inconsistency and lawless proceed-

ings. He differed from Sir Robert Peel on many points. On one point, however, he fully agreed with him. Let the proud Americans learn that all parties in this country unite in condemnation of their present conduct; and let them also learn that the worst of all aristocracies is that which prevails in America—an aristocracy which had been aptly denominated that of the human skin. The most insufferable pride was that shown by such an aristocracy.

He would continue to hurl his taunts across the Atlantic. These would ascend the Mississippi, they would descend the Missouri, and be heard along the banks of the Ohio and the Monongahela, till the black man would leap delighted to express his gratitude to those who had effected his emancipation. (Cheers.) And, Oh—but perhaps it was his pride that dictated the hope—that some black O'Connell might rise among his fellow-slaves (tremendous cheers,) who would cry agitate, agitate, agitate (renewed cheering,) till the two millions and a half of his fellow-sufferers learned the secret of their strength—learned that they were two millions and a half. (Enthusiastic cheers.) If there was one thing which more than another could excite his hatred, it was the laws which the Americans had framed to prevent the instruction of their slaves. To teach a slave to read was made a capital offence. (Shame.) To be seen in company with a negro who could write was visited with imprisonment (shame,) and to teach a slave the principles of freedom, was punished with death. Were these human laws, it might be asked? Were they not laws made by wolves of the forest? No, they were made by a congregation of two-legged wolves—American wolves—monsters in human shape, who boast of their liberty and of their humanity, while they carry the hearts of tigers within them. (Cheers.) With regard to the attacks which had been made upon his countrymen by such men, he rejoiced at them. (Cheers.) These proved to him that the sufferings to which they had been subjected in the land of their birth, had not been lost upon them; but that their kindly affections had been nurtured into strength, and that they had ranged themselves on the side of the oppressed slave. (Cheers.)—*Speech in Glasgow, Scotland, Sept. 1836.*

WILLIAM BEST.

It is a matter of pride for me to recollect, that while economists and politicians were recommending to the Legislature the protection of this traffic, and senators were framing laws for its promotion, and declaring it a benefit to the country,—the judges of the land, above the age in which they lived, standing upon the high ground of natural right, and disdaining to bend to the lower doctrine of expediency, declared that slavery was inconsistent with the genius of the English Constitution, and that human beings could not be the subject matter of property. As a lawyer, I speak of that early determination, when a different doctrine was prevailing in the senate, with a considerable degree of professional pride.

GREAT BRITAIN.



ACT of 3 and 4 WILLIAM IV, chapter lxxiii, § 12.

Be it enacted, that all and every of the persons, who, on the first day of *August*, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-four, shall be holden in *slavery* within any such *British* colony as aforesaid, shall, upon, and from and after the first day of *August*, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-four, become and be to all intents and purposes, FREE and discharged of, and from all manner of SLAVERY, and shall be absolutely and for ever manumitted; and that the children thereafter to be born to any such persons, and the offspring of such children, shall in like manner be free from their birth; and that from and after the first day of *August*, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-four, SLAVERY shall be, and is hereby utterly and for ever ABOLISHED and declared unlawful throughout the *BRITISH* colonies, plantations, and possessions abroad.

WILLIAM BLACKSTONE.

Those rights which God and nature have established, and are, therefore, called natural rights—such as life and liberty—need not the aid of human laws to be more effectually invested in every man than they are; neither do they receive any additional strength when declared by the municipal laws to be inviolable. On the contrary, no human legislature has power to abridge or destroy them, unless the owner himself shall commit some act which amounts to a forfeiture.

The first and primary end of all human laws is, to maintain and regulate those absolute rights of individuals. The absolute rights of man, considered as a free agent, endowed with discernment to know good from evil, and with power of choosing those measures which appear to him most desirable, are usually summed up in one general appellation, and denominated the natural liberty of mankind. This natural liberty consists, properly in a power of acting as one thinks fit, without any restraint or control, unless by the law of nature, being a right inherent in us by birth, and one of the gifts of God to man at his creation, when he endued him with the faculty of free will. But every man, when he enters into society, gives up a part of his natural liberty, as the price of so valuable a purchase; and, in consideration of receiving the advantages of mutual commerce, obliges himself to conform to those laws which the community has thought proper to establish.

These rights and liberties are no other than either that *residuum* of natural liberty which is not required by the laws of society to be sacrificed to public convenience; or else those civil privileges which society hath engaged to provide in lieu of the natural liberties so given up by individuals.—These are, the right of personal security, the right of personal liberty, and the right of private property.—*Commentaries.*

GRANVILLE SHARP.

“If such laws are not *absolutely necessary* for the government of slaves, the law-makers must unavoidably allow themselves to be the *most cruel and abandoned tyrants* upon earth, and, perhaps that *ever were on earth*. But, on the other hand, if it be said that it is *impossible* to govern slaves, *without such inhuman severity and detestable injustice*, the same is an invincible argument against the *least toleration* of slavery among Christians; because *temporal profits*, cannot compensate the forfeiture of everlasting welfare—that *the cries of these much injured people will certainly reach heaven*—that the Scriptures denounce a tremendous judgment against the man who shall offend *one little one*—that it were *better for the nation* that their *American dominions* had never existed, or even that they had *sunk in the sea*, than that the *kingdom of Great Britain* should be *loaded with the horrid guilt of tolerating such abominable wickedness,*” &c.—*Journal, Feb. 18th, 1772.*

THOMAS CLARKSON.

I passed through no town in which some individual had not left off the use of sugar. In the smaller towns there were from ten to fifty by estimation, and in the larger, from two to five hundred, who had made

this sacrifice to virtue. These were of all ranks and parties. Rich and poor, churchmen and dissenters, had adopted the measure. Even grocers had left off trading in the article in some places. In gentlemen's families, where the master had set the example, the servants had often voluntarily followed it; even children, capable of understanding the African's sufferings, excluded, with the most virtuous resolution, the accustomed sweets from their lips. By the least computation I could make, from notes taken down in my journey, no fewer than three hundred thousand (300,000) persons had abandoned the use of sugar.

This account of the manner in which light and information proceed in a free country, furnishes us with some valuable knowledge. It shows us, first, the great importance of education; for all they who can read may become enlightened. They may gain as much from the dead as from the living. They may see the sentiments of former ages. Thus they may contract, by degrees, habits of virtuous inclination, and become fitted to join with others in the removal of any of the evils of life.

It shows us, secondly, how that encouraging maxim may become true, That no good effort is ever lost. For if he, who makes the virtuous attempt, should be prevented by death from succeeding in it, can he not speak through the tomb? Will not his works still breathe his sentiments upon it? May not the opinions, and the facts, which he has recorded meet the approbation of ten thousand readers of whom it is propable, in the common course of things, that some will branch out of him as authors, and others as actors or laborers, in the same cause?*

WILLIAM WORDSWORTH.

TO THOMAS CLARKSON.

On the final passing of the Bill for the abolition of the Slave-trade, March, 1807.

CLARKSON! it was an obstinate hill to climb:
How toilsome—nay, how dire it was, by thee
Is known, by none perhaps, so feelingly;
But, thou, who starting in thy fervent prime
Did'st first lead forth this pilgrimage sublime,
Hast heard its constant voice its charge repeat,
Which out of thy young heart's oracular seat,
First roused thee.—O true yoke-fellow of time
With unabating effort, see, the palm
Is won, and by all nations shall be worn!
The bloody writing is for ever torn,
And thou henceforth shalt have a good man's calm,
A great man's happiness; thy zeal shall find
Repose at length firm friend of human kind!

WILLIAM WILBERFORCE.

It was ridiculous to say that men would be bound by their interest, when gain or ardent passion urged them. It might as well be asserted

* "Resolved, That the Speaker be requested to acknowledge the receipt and acceptance of Clarkson's History of Slavery, presented by the American Convention for promoting the abolition of slavery, and improving the condition of the Africans, and that the said work be deposited in the library"—*House of Representatives*. Feb. 18. 1809.

that a stone could not be thrown into the air, or a body move from place to place, because the principles of gravitation bound them to the surface of the earth. If a planter found himself reduced in his profits, he did not usually dispose of any part of his slaves; and his own gratifications were never given up, so long as there was a possibility of making any retrenchment in the allowance of his slaves.

It was the gracious ordinance of Providence, both in the natural and moral world, that good should often arise out of evil. Hurricanes cleared the air; and the propagation of truth was promoted by persecution. Pride, vanity, and profusion contributed often, in their remoter consequences, to the happiness of mankind. In common, what was itself evil and vicious was permitted to carry along with it some circumstances of palliation. The Arab was hospitable; the robber brave. We did not necessarily find cruelty associated with fraud, or meanness with injustice. But here the case was far otherwise. It was the prerogative of this detestable traffic to separate from evil its concomitant good, and to reconcile discordant mischiefs. It robbed war of its generosity; it deprived peace of its security; we saw in it the vices of polished society, without its knowledge or its comforts; and the evils of barbarism without its simplicity. No age, no sex, no rank, no condition, was exempt from the fatal influence of this wide-wasting calamity. Thus it attained to the fullest measure of pure, unmixed, unsophisticated wickedness; and, scorning all competition and comparison, it stood without a rival in the secure, undisputed possession of its detestable pre-eminence.

WILLIAM PITT.

Mr. Pitt rose, and said, that from the first hour of his having had the honor to sit in parliament down to the present, among all the questions, whether political or personal, in which it had been his fortune to take a share, there never had been one in which his heart was so deeply interested as in the present; both on account of the serious principles involved, and the consequences connected with it.

The present was not a mere question of feeling. The argument, which ought in his opinion to determine the committee, was, that the slave-trade was unjust. It was, therefore, such a trade as it was impossible for him to support, unless it could be first proved to him, that there were no laws of morality binding upon nations; and that it was not the duty of a legislature to restrain its subjects from invading the happiness of other countries, and from violating the fundamental principles of justice.

EDMUND BURKE.

Nothing makes a slave but a degraded man. In proportion as the mind grows callous to its degradation, and all sense of manly pride is lost, the slave feels comfort. In fact, he is no longer a man. If he were to define a man, he would say with Shakspeare,

“Man is a being, holding large discourse,
Looking before and after.”

But a slave was incapable of looking before and after. He had no

motive to do it. He was a mere passive instrument in the hands of others, to be used at their discretion. Though living, he was dead as to all voluntary agency. Though moving amidst the creation with an erect form, and with the shape and semblance of a human being, he was a nullity as a man.

He said the slave-trade was directly contrary to the principles of humanity and justice, and that the state of slavery which followed it, however mitigated, was a state so improper, so degrading, and so ruinous to the feelings and capacities of human nature, that it ought not to be suffered to exist.

JOHN COURTENAY.

The trade, it had been said, was conducted upon the principles of humanity. Yes: we rescued the Africans from what we were pleased to call their wretched situation in their own country, and then we took credit for our humanity; because, after having killed one half of them in the seasoning, we substituted what we were pleased to call a better treatment than that which they would have experienced at home.

It had been said by Mr. Stanley, that the pulpit had been used as an instrument of attack on the slave-trade. He was happy to learn it had been so well employed; and he hoped the bishops would rise up in the house of lords, with the virtuous indignation which became them, to abolish a traffic so contrary to humanity, justice, and religion.

CHARLES JAMES FOX.

Some had considered this question as a question of political, whereas it was a question of personal freedom. Political freedom was undoubtedly a great blessing; but, when it came to be compared with personal, it sunk to nothing. To confound the two served therefore to render all arguments on either perplexing and unintelligible. Personal freedom was the first right of every human being. It was a right, of which he who deprived a fellow creature was absolutely criminal in so depriving him, and which he who withheld was no less criminal in withholding. He would say that if the house, knowing what the trade was by the evidence, did not by their vote mark to all mankind their abhorrence of a practice so savage, so enormous, so repugnant to all laws, human and divine, they would consign their characters to eternal infamy.

But what was our motive in the case before us? To continue a trade which was a wholesale sacrifice of a whole order and race of our fellow creatures; which carried them away by force from their native country, in order to subject them to the mere will and caprice, the tyranny and oppression, of other human beings, for their whole natural lives, them and their posterity for ever!! O most monstrous wickedness! O unparalleled barbarity!

Let them remember that humanity did not consist in a squeamish ear. It did not consist in shrinking and starting at such tales as these; but in a disposition of the heart to remedy the evils they unfolded. Humanity belonged rather to the mind than to the nerves. But, if so, it should prompt men to charitable exertion.

Let them make the case their own. This was the Christian rule of judging; and, having mentioned Christianity, he was sorry to find that any should suppose that it had given countenance to such a system of oppression. So far was this from being the case, that he thought it one of the most splendid triumphs of this religion, that it had caused slavery to be so generally abolished on its appearance in the world. It had done this by teaching us, among other beautiful precepts, that, in the sight of their Maker, all mankind were equal. He knew, however, that what he had been ascribing to Christianity had been imputed by others to the advances which philosophy had made. Each of the two parties took the merit to itself. The philosopher gave it to philosophy, and the divine to religion. He should not then dispute with either of them; but as both coveted the praise, why should they not emulate each other by promoting this improvement in the condition of the human race?

PHILIP FRANCIS.

Having himself an interest in the West Indies, he thought that what he should submit to the house would have the double effect of evidence and argument; and he stated most unequivocally his opinion, that the abolition of the slave-trade would tend materially to the benefit of the West Indies.—Many had affirmed that the slave-trade was politic and expedient; but it was worthy of remark, that no man had ventured to deny that it was criminal. Criminal, however, he declared it to be in the highest degree; and he believed it was equally impolitic. Both its inexpediency and injustice had been established by the honorable mover.

He instanced an overseer, who, having thrown a negro into a copper of boiling cane-juice for a trifling offence, was punished merely by the loss of his place, and by being obliged to pay the value of his slave. He stated another instance of a girl of fourteen, who was dreadfully whipped for coming too late to her work. She fell down motionless after it; and was then dragged along the ground, by the legs, to an hospital; where she died. This was a notorious fact. It was published in the Jamaica Gazette: and it has even happened since the question of the abolition had been started.

The only argument used against such cruelties was the master's interest in the slave. But he urged the common cruelty to horses, in which the drivers had an equal interest with the drivers of men in the colonies, as a proof that this was no security. He had never heard an instance of a master being punished for the murder of his slave.

MR. HUDDLESTONE.

He said that a curse attended this trade even in the mode of defending it. By a certain fatality, none but the vilest arguments were brought forward, which corrupted the very persons, who used them. Every one of these were built on the narrow ground of interest; of pecuniary profit; of sordid gain; in opposition to every higher consideration; to every motive that had reference to humanity, justice, and religion; or to that great principle, which comprehended them all. Place only

before the most determined advocate of this odious traffic, the exact image of himself in the garb and harness of a slave, dragged and whipped about like a beast; place this image also before him, and paint it as that of one without a ray of hope to cheer him; and you would extort from him the reluctant confession, that he would not endure for an hour the misery, to which he condemned his fellow-man for life.

SAMUEL WHITBREAD.

No eloquence could persuade him, that the Africans were torn from their country and their dearest connexions, merely that they might lead a happier life; or that they could be placed under the uncontrolled dominion of others without suffering. Arbitrary power would spoil the hearts of the best. Hence would arise tyranny on the one side, and a sense of injury on the other. Hence the passions would be let loose, and a state of perpetual enmity would follow.

He needed only to go to the accounts of those who defended the system of slavery, to show that it was cruel. He was forcibly struck last year by an expression of an honorable member, an advocate for the trade, who, when he came to speak of the slaves, on selling off the stock of a plantation, said, that they fetched less than the common price, because they were damaged! Damaged! What! were they goods and chattels? What an idea was this to hold out to our fellow creatures!

THOMAS ERSKINE.

The Lord Chancellor (Erskine) said, "From information which he could not dispute, he was warranted in saying, that on this continent [Africa] husbands were fraudulently and forcibly severed from their wives, and parents from their children; and that all the ties of blood and affection were torn up by the roots. He had himself seen the unhappy natives put together in heaps in the hold of a ship, where, with every possible attention to them, their situation must have been intolerable. He had also heard proved in courts of justice, facts still more dreadful than those which he had seen. One of these he would just mention. The slaves on board a certain ship rose in a mass to liberate themselves; and having far advanced in the pursuit of their object, it became necessary to repel them by force. Some of them yielded; some of them were killed in the scuffle; but many of them actually jumped into the sea and were drowned; thus preferring death to the misery of their situation; while others hung to the ship, repenting of their rashness, and bewailing with frightful noises their horrid fate. Thus the whole vessel exhibited but one hideous scene of wretchedness. They, who were subdued, and secured in chains, were seized with the flux, which carried many of them off. These things were proved in a trial before a British jury, which had to consider, whether this was a loss, which fell within the policy of insurance, the slaves being regarded as if they had been only a cargo of dead matter. He could mention other instances, but they were much too shocking to be described. Surely their lordships could never consider such a traffic to be consistent with humanity or justice."

GEORGE GRENVILLE.

Lord Grenville then read a resolution of the Commons. "This resolution, he said, stated first, that the slave-trade was contrary to humanity, justice, and sound policy. That it was contrary to humanity was obvious; for humanity might be said to be sympathy for the distress of others, or a desire to accomplish benevolent ends by good means. But did not the slave-trade convey ideas the very reverse of the definition? It deprived men of all those comforts, in which it pleased the Creator to make the happiness of his creature to consist, of the blessings of society, of the charities of the dear relationships of husband, wife, father, son, and kindred; of the due discharge of the relative duties of these, and of that freedom, which in its pure and natural sense, was one of the greatest gifts of God to man.

"It was impossible to read the evidence, as it related to this trade, without acknowledging the inhumanity of it and our own disgrace.

"In a state of nature, man had a right to the fruit of his own labour absolutely to himself; and one of the main purposes, for which he entered into society, was, that he might be better protected in the possession of his rights. In both cases, therefore, it was manifestly unjust, that a man should be made to labor during the whole of his life, and yet have no benefit from his labor. Hence the slave-trade and the colonial slavery were a violation of the very principle, upon which all law for the protection of property was founded. Whatever benefit was derived from that trade to an individual, it was derived from dishonor and dishonesty. He forced from the unhappy victim of it that, which the latter did not wish to give him; and he gave to the same victim that, which he in vain attempted to show, was an equivalent to the thing he took, it being a thing for which there was no equivalent, and which, if he had not obtained by force, he would not have possessed at all. The injustice complained of was not confined to the bare circumstance of robbing them of the right to their own labor. It was conspicuous throughout the system."

WILLIAM SHAKSPEARE.

Shylock. What judgment shall I dread, doing no wrong?
 You have among you many a purchased slave.*
 Which like your asses, and your dogs, and mules,
 You use in abject and in slavish parts,
 Because you bought them:—shall I say to you,
 Let them be free, marry them to your heirs?
 Why sweat they under burthens? let their beds
 Be made as soft as yours, and let their palates
 Be season'd with such viands? you will answer,
 The slaves are ours:—so do I answer you:
 The pound of flesh, which I demand of him,
 Is dearly bought, is mine, and I will have it;
 If you deny me, fie upon your law!

SAMUEL JOHNSON.

* This argument, considered as used to the particular persons, seems conclusive. I see not how Venetians or Englishmen, while they practice the purchase and sale of slaves, can much enforce or demand the law of doing to others as we would they should do to us.

JOHN MILTON.

O execrable son, so to aspire
 Above his brethren, he himself assuming
 Authority usurped from God, not given.
 —Man over men
 He made not lord; such title to *Himself*
 Reserving, human left from human free.

In all things that have beauty, there is nothing to man more comely than liberty.
 Give me the liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely, above all liberties

ALEXANDER POPE.

Some safer world in depths of wood embraced,
 Some happier island in the watery waste;
 Where slaves once more their native land behold,
 No fiends torment, no Christians thirst for gold.
 Essay on Man.

God fixed it certain, that, whatever day
 Makes man a slave takes half his worth away.
 Homer's Odyssey.

JOSEPH ADDISON.

O *Liberty*, thou goddess heavenly bright,
 Profuse of bliss, and pregnant with delight!
 Eternal pleasures in thy presence reign,
 And smiling plenty leads thy wanton train:
 Eas'd of her load, subjection grows more light,
 And poverty looks cheerful in thy sight;
 Thou mak'st the gloomy face of nature gay,
 Giv'st beauty to the sun, and pleasure to the day.

ROBERT BURNS.

I'm designed yon lordling's slave,
 By Nature's law design'd,
 Why was an independent wish
 Ere planted in my mind?
 If not, why am I subject to
 His cruelty or scorn?
 Or why has man the will and power
 To make his fellow mourn?

Then let us pray that come it may.
 As come it shall for a' that,
 That sense and worth o'er all the earth
 Shall bear the gree, an' a' that.
 For a' that, an' a' that,
 It's coming yet, for a' that;
 When man to man, the world all o'er,
 Shall brothers be, an' a' that.

TOBIAS SMOLLETT.

Thy spirit, INDEPENDENCE! let me share,
 Lord of the Lion-heart and Eagle-eye;—
 Thy steps I'll follow with my bosom bare,
 Nor heed the storm that howls along the sky.

THOMAS DAY.

And better in the untimely grave to rot,
 The world and all its cruelties forgot,
 Than dragg'd once more beyond the western main,
 To groan beneath some dastard planter's chain,
 Where my poor countrymen in bondage wait
 The slow enfranchisement of ling'ring fate.
 Oh! my heart sinks, my dying eyes o'er flow,
 When memory paints the picture of their woe!
 For I have seen them, ere the dawn of day,
 Rous'd by the lash begin their cheerless way:
 Greeting with groans, unwelcome morn's return,
 While rage and shame their gloomy bosoms burn:
 And chiding every hour the slow-pac'd sun,
 Endure their toils till all his race was run;
 No eye to mark their sufferings with a tear,
 No friend to comfort, and no hope to cheer;
 Then, like the dull unpitied brutes, repair
 To stalls as wretched, and as coarse a fare;
 Thank heaven, one day of misery was o'er,
 And sink to sleep and wish to wake no more.

The Dying Negro.

S. J. PRATT.

Tyrants o'er brutes with ease extend their plan,
 Then rise in cruelty from beast to man;
 Their sordid policy each crime allows,
 The flesh that quivers, and the blood that flows,
 The furious stripes that murder in a day,
 Or tort'ring arts that kill by dire delay;
 The fainting spirit and the bursting vein,
 All, all, are reconciled to Christian gain.

The Rights of Nature.

WILLIAM COWPER.

Man finds his fellow guilty of a skin
 Not colored like his own; and having pow'r
 To enforce the wrong, for such a *worthy cause*
 Dooms and devotes him as his lawful prey.
 Thus man devotes his brother, and destroys:
 And worse than all, and most to be deplor'd,
 As human nature's broadest, foulest blot,
 Chains him, and tasks him, and exacts his sweat
 With stripes that mercy with a bleeding heart
 Weeps when she sees inflicted on a beast.
 Then what is man? And what man, seeing this,
 And having human feelings, does not blush
 And hang his head, to think himself a man?
 I would not have a slave to till my ground,
 To carry me, to fan me while I sleep,
 And tremble when I wake, for all the wealth
 That sinews bought and sold have ever earn'd.
 No! dear as freedom is, and in my heart's
 Just estimation priz'd above all price,
 I had much rather be myself the slave,
 And wear the bonds, than fasten them on him.

—
 The tender ties of parent, husband, friend,
 All bonds of Nature, in that moment end.

O most degrading of all ills that wait
 On man, (a mourner in his best estate !)
 All other sorrows virtue may endure,
 And find submission more than half a cure ;
 But SLAVERY !! Virtue dreads it as her grave
 Patience itself is meanness in a slave.
 Wait, then, the dawning of a brighter day,
 And snap the chain the moment when you may
 Nature imprints upon whate'er we see
 That has a heart and life in it, "BE FREE."

WILLIAM ROSCOE.

Form'd with the same capacity of pain,
 The same desire of pleasure and of ease,
 Why feels not man for man ! When nature shrinks
 From the slight puncture of an insect's sting,
 Faints, if not screen'd from sultry suns, and pines
 Beneath the hardship of an hour's delay
 Of needful nutriment ;—when Liberty
 Is prized so dearly, that the slightest breath
 That ruffles but her mantle, can awake
 To arms unwarlike nations, and can rouse
 Confed'rate states to vindicate her claims :—
 How shall the suff'rer man his fellow doom
 To ills he mourns or spurns at ; tear with stripes
 His quiv'ring flesh ; with hunger and with thirst
 Waste his emaciate frame ; in ceaseless toils
 Exhaust his vital powers ; and bind his limbs
 In galling chains !

HANNAH MORE.

See the dire victim torn from social life,
 The shrieking babe, the agonizing wife !
 She ! wretch forlorn, is dragg'd by hostile hands
 To distant tyrants, sold to distant lands,
 Transmitted miseries and successive chains,
 The sole sad heritage her child obtains !
 E'en this last wretched boon their foes deny,
 To live together, or together die.
 By felon hands, by one relentless stroke,
 See the fond links of feeling nature broke !
 The fibres twisting round a parent's heart,
 Torn from their grasp, and bleeding as they part.

JAMES MONTGOMERY.

Lives there a reptile baser than a slave ?
 Loathsome as death, corrupted as the grave.
 See the dull creole, at his pompous board,
 Attendant vassals cringing round their lord ;
 Sate with food, his heavy eyelids close,
 Voluptuous minions fan him to repose ;
 Prone on the noonday couch he lolls in vain,
 Delirious slumbers rack his maudlin brain ;
 He starts with horror from bewildering dreams
 His bloodshot eye with fire and frenzy gleams,
 He stalks abroad ; through all his wonted rounds,
 The negro trembles, and the lash resounds,
 And cries of anguish shrilling through the air,
 To astant fields his dread approach declare.

ROBERT SOUTHEY.

Oh, he is worn with toil! the big drops run
 Down his dark cheek! hold—hold thy merciless hand,
 Pale tyrant! for beneath thy hard command
 O'er wearied nature sinks. The scorching sun,
 As pitiless as proud Prosperity
 Darts on him his full beams; gasping as he lies,
 Arraigning with his looks the patient skies,
 While that inhuman trader lifts on high
 The mangling scourge. O! ye who at your ease
 Sip the blood-sweetened beverage, thoughts like these
 Haply ye scorn. I thank thee gracious God!
 That I do feel upon my cheek the glow
 Of indignation, when beneath the rod,
 A sable brother writhes in silent woe.

THOMAS CAMPBELL.

And say supernal Powers; who deeply scan
 Heav'n's dark decree, unfathom'd yet by man,
 When shall the world call down to cleanse her shame,
 That embryo spirit, yet without a name,
 That friend of Nature, whose avenging hands
 Shall burst the Lybian's adamantine bands?
 Who, sternly marking on his native soil,
 The blood, the tears, the anguish, and the toil,
 Shall bid each righteous heart exult, to see
 Peace to the slave, and vengeance on the free!

Yet, yet, degraded man! th' expected day
 That breaks your bitter cup, is far away;
 Trade, wealth, and fashion, ask you still to bleed,
 And holy men give scripture for the deed;
 Scourg'd and debas'd, no Briton stoops to save
 A wretch, a coward; yes, because a slave!

ERASMUS DARWIN.

Wrench'd the red scourge from proud Oppression's hands,
 And broke, curst Slavery! thy iron bands.

E'en now, e'en now, on yonder western shores
 Weeps pale Despair, and writhing Anguish roars;
 E'en now in Afric's groves with hideous yell
 Fierce SLAVERY stalks and slips the dogs of hell;
 From vale to vale the gathering cries rebound
 And sable nations tremble at the sound.—
 —Who right the injured, and reward the brave,
 Stretch your strong arm, for ye have power to save!
 Throned in the vaulted heart, his dread resort;
 Inexorable CONSCIENCE holds his court;
 With still small voice the plots of guilt alarms,
 Bares his masked brow, his lifted hand disarms;
 But, wrapp'd in night with terrors all his own,
 He speaks in thunders when the deed is done.
 Hear him, ye Senates! hear this truth sublime,
He who allows oppression shares the crime.

“Botanic Garden.”

JOHN STEWART.

It is from the fatal preponderance of passion over reason, that the atrocious and damnable TRADE in HUMAN FLESH is sanctified; an act so infamous, that could all the crimes which history records be

collected and consolidated into one, it would lose its nature of atrocity and become a virtue, when placed in comparison with the slave-trade, considered in its double flagitiousness of first buying the human species and then destroying them. It is inconceivable, that an assembly of a nation can be guilty of an act, that no individual who has not degraded himself below his species, and familiarized his ear to the association of his name with that of villain and scoundrel but would feel a horror of committing. Though legislative accomplices may cover his shame, and screen him from public censure, yet how, in the name of truth, if he possesses a well-organized mind and body, and but a common share of reflection, (or rather the pre-eminent and characteristic share of an Englishman,) how can he esteem himself, when conscience will ever upbraid him with the participation in an act whose flagitiousness is so great, that unless he renounces the character of man, his very share would be sufficient to sink him into the most ignominious contempt, and draw upon him more remorse than would the catalogue of all the acted and imagined crimes in nature.—*The Moral State of Nations.*

SIR WILLIAM JONES.

I pass with haste by the coast of Africa, whence my mind turns with indignation at the abominable traffic in the human species, from which a part of our countrymen dare to derive their inauspicious wealth. Sugar, it has been said, would be dear if it were not worked by blacks; as if the most laborious, the most dangerous works were not carried on in every country by freemen; in fact, they are so carried on with infinitely more advantage, for there is alacrity in a consciousness of freedom, and a gloomy, sullen indolence in a consciousness of slavery. But let sugar be as dear as it may, it is better to eat none, to eat honey, if sweetness only be palatable; better to eat aloes or coloquintida, than violate a primary law of nature, impressed on every heart not imbruted by avarice; than rob one human creature of those eternal rights of which no law upon earth can justly deprive him.

EDWARD LYTTON BULWER.

It is in vain that they oppose OPINION; any thing else they may subdue. They may conquer wind, water, nature itself; but to the progress of that secret, subtle, pervading spirit, their imagination can devise, their strength can accomplish, no bar; *its votaries* they may seize, they may destroy; *itself*, they cannot touch. If they check it in one place, it invades them in another. They cannot build a wall across the whole earth; and even if they could, it would pass over its summit! Chains cannot bind it, for it is immaterial—nor dungeons enclose it, for it is universal. Over the faggot and the scaffold—over the bending bodies which they pile against its path, it sweeps on with a noiseless, but unceasing march. Do they bring armies against it, it presents to them no palpable object to oppose. Its camp is the universe; its asylum the bosoms of their own soldiers. Let them depopulate, destroy as they please, to each extremity of the earth; but as long as they have a single supporter themselves—as long as they

leave a single individual into whom that spirit can enter, so long they will have the same labors to encounter, and the same enemy to subdue.
The Spanish Patriot Riego's Reflections on Tyrants.

Oh, Freedom! with prophet's voice,
Bid the ends of the earth rejoice!
Wherever the proud are strong,
And right is oppressed by wrong—
Wherever the dim day shines,
Through the cell where the captive pines.—
Go forth with a trumpet's sound!
And tell to the nations round—
On the hills where the heroes trod,—
In the shrines of the saints of God,—
In the ruler's hall and the martyr's prison,
That the slumber is broke and the sleeper arisen!
That the day of the scourge and the fetter is o'er,
And earth feels the tread of the freeman once more!

HENRY BROUGHAM.

Tell me not of rights—talk not of the property of the planter in his slaves. I deny the right—I acknowledge not the property. The principles, the feelings, of our common nature, rise in rebellion against it. Be the appeal made to the understanding or to the heart, the sentence is the same that rejects it. In vain you tell me of laws that sanction such a claim! There is a law above all the enactments of human codes—the same throughout the world, the same in all times—such as it was before the daring genius of Columbus pierced the night of ages, and opened to one world the sources of power, wealth, and knowledge; to another, all unutterable woes; such it is at this day: it is the law written by the finger of God on the heart of man; and by that law, unchangeable and eternal, while men despise fraud, and loathe rapine, and abhor blood, they shall reject with indignation the wild and guilty fantasy, that man can hold property in man! In vain you appeal to treaties, to covenants between nations. The covenants of the Almighty, whether the old or the new, denounce such unholy pretensions. To those laws did they of old refer, who maintained the African trade. Such treaties did they cite, and not untruly; for by one shameful compact, you bartered the glories of Blenheim for the traffic in blood! Yet, in despite of law and of treaties, that infernal traffic is now destroyed, and its votaries put to death like other pirates. How came this change to pass? Not assuredly by parliament leading the way; but the country at length awoke; the indignation of the people was kindled; it descended in thunder, and smote the traffic, and scattered its guilty profits to the winds.

One word before I sit down, and that shall be in reference to those other countries which, by a singular coincidence, obtained their freedom about the same period when we began our effective struggle—the Americans having obtained their political freedom about the time when Thomas Clarkson began to agitate the question of the slave-trade, and the French having obtained their restoration to freedom in the very same month when Yorkshire enabled us, by the spirit which it then exhibited,

to accomplish the great object of emancipation, for which we had previously so long struggled in vain. That being the case, is it not melancholy as it regards France—is it not unspeakably mournful—nay, is it not absolutely monstrous (I use the term without meaning offence,) as regards America—is it not matter of the profoundest wonder, that in a country which boasts of being the freest (and, politically speaking, it is one of the freest on the face of the earth,) should be the country which seems to cling the most closely to the slavery of the negroes, a slavery which when compared with the fetters which they (the Americans) so nobly burst asunder, in their resistance to the oppressions of the mother country, may be compared to straws laid upon the back of a camel? (Cheers.) Can this endure—can such an anomaly be perpetuated—can so gross, so violent, so egregious an inconsistency continue among 13,000,000 of enlightened men? I pronounce it impossible. (Hear, hear.) I have always stood forward as the fast friend of America. I have no doubt that the advice I now give her in the spirit of candor and friendship, will be received by her in the spirit in which it is offered.

THOMAS FOWELL BUXTON.

Mr. T. F. Buxton, in bringing forward his promised motion on the subject of the slave-trade, observed, that no person who had not witnessed the atrocities of that abominable traffic, could have an adequate conception of the crimes, miseries, and cruelties to which it gave rise. He requested the attention of the house to facts which he should lay before them from parliamentary documents—facts that indicated the extent to which the slave-trade was now carried on.

In three years and a half, 150,537 slaves were introduced into Brazil through the single port of Rio de Janeiro. But this did not include the whole number departed from Africa; it only extended to the number introduced alive: we know nothing of the amount of mortality that occurred among the slaves on their passage. In 1830 the slave-trade had been legally abolished, notwithstanding which, however, he was sorry to say it now proceeded with almost as much activity as ever. This he gathered from the report of the Minister of Marine to the Legislative Assembly, which was as follows:—"Rio de Janeiro, June 17, 1833.—Well known are the tricks resorted to by speculators, as sordid as they are criminal, to continue the disgraceful traffic in slaves, in spite of all the legislative provisions and orders issued respecting it, which have been most scandalously eluded. It, therefore, appears necessary to the government to have recourse to the most efficacious means, which are, to arm a sufficient number of small vessels to form a sort of cordon sanitaire, which may prevent the access to our shores of those swarms of Africans that are continually poured forth from ships employed in so abominable a traffic."

Before concluding, he would mention one fact, which had made a greater impression on his mind than almost any thing else. In addition to the desolation which this shameful traffic created in Africa, it was the cause of the destruction of not less than 100,000 persons, year by

year, and this large number of human beings were sacrificed for the purpose of enriching miscreants, the acknowledged enemies of the human race, who, if justice had been done, would undoubtedly have died the death of murderers and pirates. (Hear, hear.)—*Speech in the British House of Commons, May, 12, 1835.*

ELIZABETH HEYRICK.

An *immediate* emancipation is the object to be aimed at; it is more wise and rational—more politic and safe, as well as more just and humane, than gradual emancipation. The interests, moral and political, temporal and eternal, of all parties concerned, will be best promoted by *immediate* emancipation. The sooner the planter is obliged to abandon a system which torments him with perpetual alarms of insurrection and massacre—which keeps him in the most debasing moral bondage—subjects him to a tyranny, of all others the most injurious and destructive, that of sordid and vindictive passions; the sooner he is obliged to adopt a more humane and more *lucrative* policy in the cultivation of his plantations; the sooner the over-labored, crouching slave is converted into a free laborer—his compulsory, unremunerated toil, under the impulse of the cart-whip, exchanged for cheerful, well recompensed industry,—his bitter sufferings for peaceful enjoyment—his deep execration of his merciless tyrants, for respectful attachment to his humane and equitable masters; the sooner the government and the people of this country purify themselves from the guilt of supporting or tolerating a system of such monstrous injustice, productive of such complicated enormities—the sooner all this mass of impolicy, crime, and suffering, is got rid of, the better.

HARRIET MARTINEAU.

I believe that I have heard every argument that can possibly be adduced in vindication or palliation of slavery, under any circumstances now existing; and I declare that of all displays of intellectual perversion and weakness, that I have witnessed, I have met with none so humbling and so melancholy as the advocacy of this institution. I declare that I know the whole of its theory;—a declaration that I dare not make with regard to, I think, any other subject whatever: the result is that I believe there is nothing rational to be said in vindication or palliation of the protraction of slavery in the United States.

Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana, present the extreme case of the fertility of the soil, the prosperity of proprietors and the woes of slaves. I found that the Virginians spoke with sorrow and contempt of the treatment of slaves in North and South Carolina; South Carolina and Georgia, of the treatment of slaves in the richer states to the west: and in these last, I found the case too bad to admit of aggravation. It was in these last that the most heart-rending disclosures were made to me by the heads of families of their state of society, and of their own intolerable sufferings in it.—*Society in America.*

All men are equal in their birth,
 Heirs of the earth and skies ;
 All men are equal when that earth
 Fades from their dying eyes.

O ! let men hasten to restore
 To ail, their rights of love :
 In power and wealth exult no more ;
 In wisdom lowly move.

Ye great ! renounce your earth-born pride,
 Ye low ! your shame and fear :
 Live as ye worship, side by side ;
 Your common claims revere.

BENJAMIN GODWIN.

It is a man's interest, we know, to use his cattle well, and to take care that those who work them treat them properly ; but, notwithstanding this, does not the brute creation groan under the cruelties of man ? How many are injured through mere wantonness ! how many through thoughtlessness ! and how many a noble animal has been shamefully abused in the moment of passion ! Besides, the owners of cattle are not always with them, and may even never see many of them ; and men who have no interest in them may have the care and the working of them. Certainly in the opinion of our legislature, this motive was not deemed sufficient, or why was an Act of Parliament passed to prevent cruelty to animals ? And for similar reasons the interest of the slave-owner in his slaves is no sufficient security against ill treatment. Thoughtlessness, wantonness, inebriety, the ebullitions of anger, or that irritation which blinds the mind even to a man's own interests, may work misery to the slave—as in the case of the young gentleman already mentioned, who shot a slave for sport ; or of Mr. and Mrs. Moss, for instance, who by a series of cruelties, destroyed a female who might long have served them.

E. S. ABDY.

To talk of a slave's labor being *due* to his master, is to insult common sense and common decency. While the latter can coin dollars out of the sweat and tears of his victim he will do so. "The law allows it, and the court awards it." It is this clause, however, in the constitution, which renders the free states tributary to the ambition of the slave states, and accessories to all their guilt ;—makes the boasted asylum of the persecuted, the prison-house of the unfortunate ; and converts the guardians of liberty, into the turnkeys of its assassins.

I can truly and honestly declare, that the orderly and obliging behaviour, I observed among them, the decent and comfortable arrangements I witnessed in their houses—the anxiety they expressed for the education of their children, and their own improvement—the industry which was apparent in all about them, and the intelligence which marked their conversation—their sympathy for one another, and the respect they maintained for themselves—the absence of vindictive feeling against the whites, and the gratitude they evinced towards

every one who treats them with common civility and regard,—far surpassed the expectation I had formed, of finding among them something more elevated than the instinct of monkeys united to the passions of men. They are “not only almost, but altogether such as” the white man—except the bonds he has fastened on their bodies or their minds.—*Residence and Tour in the United States, 1833—1835.*

WESTMINSTER REVIEW.

If the reader rises from the perusal of these volumes of E. S. Abdy with a highly reduced opinion of American intellect and morals, and a strong sense of the insult put upon the liberals of Europe by the affectation of fraternity with which they have been honored, it will be accompanied with an increased hatred of oppression, and increased love of liberty as a principle. With a form of government vastly more favorable for human improvement than that of their English progenitors, the Americans, probably from the effect of climate, which has produced so many other variations in the animal kingdom, have gone backward and not forward, and present a caricature of all the worst qualities of the worst Englishmen of the worst times. Slavery is so utterly abhorrent to every respectable individual in this country, that it would be a waste of argument to reason against its continuance; while those who have profited by it, like others who have been guilty of nefarious practices, are beyond the pale of reason on the subject.

The tearing asunder family ties, the banishment, the mart, the jealous confinement and surveillance of new masters, the whole horrors of the slave-trade, are brought into active operation in the heart of the United States, whose citizens the while, expect to sit at table with civilized men, and be treated with more reverence than the kindred barbarians of Ashantee.

Bad as is the state of the slaves in the more northern states, they uniformly regard the South with more horror than our thieves at home do the hulks. The loss by death alone to the Louisiana planters, in bringing slaves from the North, is estimated at twenty-five per cent. The sugar factories and rice swamps, the slaves know to be rapid and rough highroads to the grave. And they are well acquainted with the stories of the greater rigor of the southern drivers. It is true that the more respectable Virginian proprietors decline selling their negroes so long as they conduct themselves to their satisfaction, and even make this rule in some degree a point of honor.

Mr. Abdy's book reads a moral lesson to the American people which cannot be too much insisted on. It is the right of the civilized world to combine in placing them in quarantine till they are less discreditable to their ancestors. Will any Englishman sit at meat with a nation that *sell one another by weight*?

It is by no means certain, that civilization did not come to Egypt out of Ethiopia; and it is quite certain that the Indians, who pass for “black fellows” in the vocabulary of these white philosophers, were a civilized and learned race, when *our* progenitors were painting their skins and roasting one another alive.

EDINBURGH REVIEW.

Every American who loves his country, should dedicate his whole life, and every faculty of his soul, to efface the foul blot of slavery from its character. If nations rank according to their wisdom and their virtue, what right has the American, a scourger and murderer of slaves, to compare himself with the least and lowest of the European nations, much more with this great and humane country, where the greatest lord dare not lay a finger on the meanest peasant? What is freedom where all are not free? where the greatest of God's blessings are limited, with impious caprice to the color of the body? And these are men who taunt the English with their corrupt parliament, with their buying and selling votes. Let the world judge which is the most liable to censure—we, who in the midst of rottenness, have torn the manacles off slaves all over the world; or they who, with their idle purity and useless perfection, have remained mute and careless while groans echoed and whips cracked round the very walls of their spotless congress. We wish well to America—we rejoice in her prosperity—and are delighted to resist the absurd impertinence with which the character of her people is often treated in this country. But the existence of slavery in America is an atrocious crime, with which no measures can be kept—for which her situation affords no sort of apology—which makes liberty itself disgusted, and the boast of it disgusting.—No. LXI. *Art. Travelers in America.*

THE FOREIGN QUARTERLY REVIEW.

It is notorious, that, notwithstanding all the treaties which have been concluded between England and other countries for the abolition of the slave-trade, it is still carried on to an enormous extent, because, even if the governments were really sincere in their wishes to suppress this trade, their subjects were wholly averse to a step which they denounced as utter ruin to all interested in the colonies. They have therefore persisted in spite of, perhaps with the connivance of their governments; and in Brazil in particular, it has been officially declared to be out of the power of the legislature to put an end to the traffic.

Let England call on the governments of Europe not to allow the importation of colonial produce from any country where it can be proved that the slave-trade is still carried on, either with the sanction or connivance of the government, or in spite of it; such a measure would surely act as a check on the importation of slaves. Could that point be effectually attained, it might be hoped that the extinction of slavery itself would in due time succeed, as it has done in the British colonies.

LONDON EVANGELICAL MAGAZINE.

The United States of America present to the world one of the most extraordinary spectacles that can be conceived of by the mind of man. They are a huge moral and political enigma. We behold part of the population priding themselves on the peculiar freedom of their institu-

tions, and holding the other part in the shackles of slavery.—Alas, that a figure with so goodly a bust should terminate in the slimy folds of the serpent!

It is melancholy to behold such a monstrosity, a people judging their own rights with the incontrovertible declaration, “that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness;” and at the same instant depriving their fellow-men perpetually of two of these “inalienable rights,” and often directly or indirectly of the third. Most heartily do we concur with our American brethren in the sentiment we here quote. We concur with them when they claim to be free from oppression, but we dissent from them when they claim also to be free to oppress. The national emblem of the American states requires alteration to make it truly emblematical of their present and past condition. The eagle, with liberty on his wings, should, to complete the resemblance, clutch in his talons the manacled and writhing form of the colored man.

GEORGE FOX.

In the West Indies, he exhorted those who attended his meetings, to be merciful to their slaves, and to give them their freedom in due time. He considered these as belonging to their families, and that religious instruction was due to these as the branches of them, for whom, one day or other, they would be required to give a solemn account. Happy had it been if these Christian exhortations had been attended to, or if these families only, whom he thus seriously addressed, had continued to be true Quakers; for they would have set an example, which would have proved to the rest of the islanders and the world at large, that the impolicy is not less than the wickedness of oppression. Thus was GEORGE FOX, probably the first person who publicly declared against this species of slavery. Nothing, in short, that could be deplored by humanity, seems to have escaped his eye; and his benevolence, when excited, appears to have suffered no interruption in its progress by the obstacles which bigotry would have thrown in the way of many, on account of the difference of a person's country, or of his color, or of his sect.”—*Portraiture of Quakerism.*

THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

“In the first place they have made it a rule that no person, acknowledged to be in profession with them, shall have any concern in the slave-trade.

“The Quakers began to consider this subject, as a Christian body, so early as in the beginning of the last century. In the year 1727, they passed a public censure upon this trade. In the year 1758, and afterwards in the year 1761, they warned and exhorted all in profession with them, ‘to keep their hands clear of this unrighteous gain of oppression.’ In the yearly meeting of 1763, they renewed their exhortation in the following words:

“We renew our exhortation, that Friends everywhere be espe-

cially careful to keep their hands clear of giving encouragement in any shape to the slave-trade; it being evidently destructive of the natural rights of mankind, who are all ransomed by one Saviour, and visited by one divine light, in order to salvation; a traffic calculated to enrich and aggrandize some upon the miseries of others; in its nature abhorrent to every just and tender sentiment, and contrary to the whole tenor of the gospel."

"In the same manner from the year 1763, they have publicly manifested a tender concern for the happiness of the injured Africans, and they have not only been vigilant to see that none of their own members were concerned in this nefarious traffic, but they have lent their assistance with other Christians in promoting its discontinuance.—*Thomas Clarkson's Portaiture of Quakerism.*

JAMES BEATTIE.

It is well observed by the wisest of poets (as Atheneus, quoting the passage, justly calls,) *Homer*, who lived when slavery was common, and whose knowledge of the human heart is unquestionable, that "When a man is made a slave, he loses from that day the half of his virtue." And *Longinus*, quoting the same passage, affirms, "Slavery, however mild, may still be called the poison of the soul, and a public dungeon." And *Tacitus* remarks, that "Even wild animals lose their spirit when deprived of their freedom." All history proves, and every rational philosopher admits, that as liberty promotes virtue and genius, slavery debases the understanding and corrupts the heart of both the slave and the master, and that in a greater or less degree, as it is more or less severe. So that in this plea of the slave-monger, we have an example of that diabolical casuistry, whereby the tempter and corrupter endeavors to vindicate or gratify himself, by accusing those whom he himself has tempted or corrupted.

Slavery is inconsistent with the dearest and most essential rights of man's nature; it is detrimental to virtue and to industry; it hardens the heart to those tender sympathies which form the most lovely part of human character; it involves the innocent in hopeless misery, in order to procure wealth and pleasure for the authors of that misery; it seeks to degrade into brutes beings whom the Lord of heaven and earth endowed with rational souls, and created for immortality; in short, it is utterly repugnant to every principle of reason, religion, humanity, and conscience. It is impossible for a considerate and unprejudiced mind to think of slavery without horror. That a man, a rational and immortal being, should be treated on the same footing with a beast or piece of wood, and bought and sold, and entirely subjected to the will of another man, whose equal he is by nature, and whose superior he may be in virtue and understanding, and all for no crime, but merely because he was born in a certain country, or of certain parents, or because he differs from us in the shape of his nose, the color of his skin, or the size of his lips; if this be equitable, or excusable, or pardonable, it is vain to talk any longer of the eternal distinctions of right and wrong, truth and falsehood, good and evil. It has been said that negroes are animals of a nature inferior to man,

between whom and the brutes, they hold, as it were, the middle place. But though this were true, it would not follow that we have a right either to debase ourselves by a habit of cruelty, or to use them ill; for even beasts, if inoffensive, are entitled to gentle treatment, and we have reason to believe that they who are not merciful will not obtain mercy.

The same sentiments are found in *Pliny* and *Columella*, who both impute the decay of husbandry, in their time, not to any deficiency in the soil, but to the unwise policy of leaving to the management of slaves those fields, which, says *Pliny*, "had formerly rejoiced under the laurelled ploughshare and the triumphant ploughman," *Rollin*, with good reason, imputes to the same cause the present barrenness of Palestine, which in ancient times was called the land flowing with milk and honey.—*Elements of Moral Science*.

WILLIAM ROBERTSON, D. D.

In the ancient world . . . the persons, the goods, the children of these slaves, were the property of their masters, disposed of at pleasure, and transferred, like any other possession, from one hand to another. No inequality, no superiority in power, no pretext of consent can justify this ignominious depression of human nature, or can confer upon one man the right of dominion over another. But not only doth reason condemn this institution as unjust, experience proved it to be pernicious both to masters and slaves. The elevation of the former inspired them with pride, insolence, impatience, cruelty, and voluptuousness; the dependant and hopeless state of the latter dejected the human mind, and extinguished every generous and noble principle in the heart.—*Sermon*.

BISHOP WARBURTON.

"From the free savages I now come to the savages in bonds. By these I mean the vast multitudes yearly stolen from the opposite continent, and sacrificed by the colonists to their great idol the god of gain. But what, then, say these sincere worshippers of mammon? They are our own property which we offer up. Gracious God! to talk, as of herds of cattle, of property in rational creatures, creatures endued with all our faculties, possessing all our qualities but that of color, our brethren both by nature and grace, shocks all the feelings of humanity, and the dictates of common sense! But, alas! what is there, in the infinite abuses of society, which does not shock them? Yet nothing is more certain in itself and apparent to all, than that the infamous traffic for slaves directly infringes both divine and human law. Nature created man free, and grace invites him to assert his freedom.—*Sermon*, 1776.

DR. PRIMATT.

It has pleased God to cover some men with white skins, and others with black; but as there is neither merit nor demerit in complexion, the white man, notwithstanding the barbarity of custom and prejudice.

can have no right by virtue of his color to enslave and tyrannize over the black man. For whether a man be white or black, such he is by God's appointment, and, abstractly considered, is neither a subject for pride, nor an object of contempt.—*Dissertation on the Duty of Mercy, and on the Sin of Cruelty to Brute Animals.*

DR. PECKARD.

“Now, whether we consider the crime with respect to the individuals concerned in this most barbarous and cruel traffic, or whether we consider it as patronised and encouraged by the laws of the land, it presents to our view an equal degree of enormity. A crime, founded on a dreadful pre-eminence in wickedness; a crime which being both of individuals and the nation, must some time draw down upon us the heaviest judgment of Almighty God, who made of one blood all the sons of men, and who gave to all equally a natural right to liberty; and who, ruling all the kingdoms of the earth with equal providential justice, cannot suffer such deliberate, such monstrous iniquity, to pass long unpunished.”—*Sermon before the Cambridge University.*

JOHN WESLEY.

That execrable sum of all villainies commonly called the slave-trade. I read of nothing like it in the heathen world, whether ancient or modern. It infinitely exceeds every instance of barbarity, whatever Christian slaves suffer in Mohammedan countries.—*His works, Vol. 3, page 341.*

At Liverpool, many large ships are now laid up in the docks, which had been employed for many years in buying or stealing Africans, and selling them in America for slaves. The *men-butchers* have now nothing to do at this *laudable* occupation. Since the American war broke out, there is no demand for *human cattle*; so the men of Africa, as well as Europe, may enjoy their native liberty.—*Journal of April, 1777.*

THOUGHTS ON SLAVERY.

1. Slavery imports an obligation of perpetual service; an obligation which only the consent of the master can dissolve. It generally gives the master an arbitrary power of any correction not affecting life or limb. Sometimes even those are exposed to his will, or protected only by a fine or some slight punishment, too inconsiderable to restrain a master of harsh temper. It creates an incapacity of acquiring any thing, except for the master's benefit. It allows the master to alienate the slave in the same manner as his cows and horses. Lastly, it descends in its full extent, from parent to child, even to the last generation.

2. The grand plea is, “They are authorized by law.” But can law, human law, change the nature of things? Can it turn darkness into light, or evil into good? By no means. Notwithstanding ten thousand laws, right is right, and wrong is wrong. There must still remain an essential difference between justice and injustice, cruelty and mercy. So that I ask; Who can reconcile this treatment of the slaves,

first and last, with either mercy or justice; where is the justice of inflicting the severest evils on those who have done us no wrong? Of depriving those who never injured us in word or deed, of every comfort of life? Of tearing them from their native country, and depriving them of liberty itself; to which an Angolan has the same natural right as an American, and on which he sets as high a value? Where is the justice of taking away the lives of innocent, inoffensive men? Murdering thousands of them in their own land by the hands of their own countrymen; and tens of thousands in that cruel slavery, to which they are so unjustly reduced?

“When we have slaves, it is necessary to use them with severity.” What, *to whip them for every petty offence till they are in a gore of blood? To take that opportunity of rubbing pepper and salt into their raw flesh? To drop burning sealing-wax upon their skins? To castrate them? To cut off half their foot with an axe? To hang them on gibbets, that they may die by inches with heat, and hunger, and thirst? To pin them down to the ground, and then burn them by degrees from the feet to the head? To roast them alive?* When did a Turk or a heathen find it necessary to use a fellow-creature thus? To what end is this usage necessary? “To prevent their running away, and to keep them constantly to their labor, that they may not idle away their time. So miserably stupid is this race of men, so stubborn and so wicked!” Allowing this, to whom is that stupidity owing? It lies altogether at the door of their inhuman masters, who gave them no means, no opportunity of improving their understanding; and indeed leave them no motive, either from hope or fear to attempt any such thing. They were no way remarkable for stupidity while they remained in Africa. To some of the inhabitants of Europe they are greatly superior. Survey the natives of Benin, and of Lapland. Compare the Samoeids and the Angolans. The African is in no respect inferior to the European. Their stupidity in our colonies is not natural; otherwise than it is the natural effect of their condition. Consequently it is not *their* fault, but yours: and you must answer for it before God and man. “But their stupidity is not the only reason of our treating them with severity; for it is hard to say which is the greatest, this, or their stubbornness, and wickedness.” But do not these, as well as the other, lie at *your* door? Are not stubbornness, cunning, pilfering, and divers other vices, the natural necessary fruits of slavery, in every age and nation? What means have you used to remove this stubbornness? Have you tried what mildness and gentleness would do? What pains have you taken, what method have you used to reclaim them from their wickedness?

O thou God of love, thou who art loving to every man, and whose mercy is over all thy works; thou who art the Father of the spirits of all flesh, and who art rich in mercy unto all; thou who hast formed of one blood, all the nations upon the earth; have compassion upon these outcasts of men, who are trodden down as dung upon the earth! Arise, and help these that have no helper, whose blood is spilled upon the ground like water! Are not these also the work of thine own hands, the purchase of thy Son’s blood? Stir them up to cry unto thee in the land of their captivity; and let their complaint come up

before thee; let it enter into thine ears! Make even those that lead them captive to pity them and turn their captivity. O burst thou all their chains in sunder; more especially the chains of their sins: thou Saviour of all, make them free, that they may be free indeed!

ADAM CLARKE.

Isaiah lviii, 6.—*Let the oppressed go free.* How can any nation pretend to fast, or worship God at all, or dare profess that they believe in the existence of such a Being, while they carry on what is called the slave-trade: and traffic in the souls, blood, and bodies of men! O ye most flagitious of knaves and worst of hypocrites! cast off at once the mask of religion, and deepen not your endless perdition by professing the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, while you continue in this traffic!

THOMAS SCOTT.

Exodus xxi, 16.—“He that stealeth a man, and selleth him, or if he be found in his hands, he shall surely be put to death.” Stealing a man in order to sell him for a slave, whether the thief had actually sold him, or whether he continued in his possession. He who stole any one of the human family, in order to make a slave of him, should be punished with death. The crime would be aggravated by sending them away into foreign countries to be slaves to idolaters.

Deuteronomy xxiv, 7.—“If a man be found stealing any of his brethren of the children of Israel, and maketh merchandise of him, or selleth him, then **THAT THIEF SHALL DIE.**”—Every man is now our brother, whatever be his nation, complexion or creed. How then can the merchandise of men and women be carried on, without transgressing this commandment, or abetting those who do? A man may steal, or purchase of those who do steal, hundreds of men and women, and not only escape with impunity, but grow great like a prince. According to the law of God, whoever stole cattle restored four or five fold; *whoever stole one human being, though an infant or an idiot, must die.*

1. *Timothy i, 10.*—“Men-stealers.”—Men-stealers are inserted among those daring criminals against whom the law of God directed its awful curses. Persons who kidnapped men to sell them for slaves. This practice seems inseparable from the other iniquities and oppressions of slavery; nor can a *slave-dealer* by any means keep free from that atrocious criminality, *if the receiver be as bad as the thief.* They who encourage that unchristian traffic by purchasing that, which is thus unjustly acquired, are partakers of their crimes.—**MACKNIGHT.**—*That is the only species of theft which is punished with death by the laws of God.*

James ii, 12, 13.—“So speak ye, and so do, as they that shall be judged by the law of liberty.

“For he shall have judgment without mercy that hath showed no mercy, and mercy rejoiceth against judgment.” On this verse Dr. Scott makes the following remarks—“All who are not taught to show

mercy to others, must expect to be dealt with according to the *severity* of justice in respect to their eternal state. What then must be the doom of the cruel oppressors and iniquitous tyrants of the human species? But the hard-hearted, selfish, implacable, and oppressive professor of Christianity, has the greatest cause to tremble; for if 'he shall have judgment without mercy, who hath shown no mercy,' the meanest slave that ever was whipt and worked to death, must be considered as happy, compared with his haughty cruel tyrant, and this shall sufficiently appear, 'when the earth shall disclose her blood, and shall no more cover her slain.'"

Revelation xviii, 13.—"Slaves and souls of men."—Not only slaves, but the souls of men are mentioned as articles of commerce, which is beyond comparison, the most infamous of all traffics that the demon of avarice ever devised; almost infinitely more atrocious, than the *accursed* slave-trade. Alas! too often, injustice, oppression, fraud, avarice, or excessive indulgence are connected with extensive commerce; and to *number the persons of men*, with oxen, asses, sheep and horses, as the stock of a farm, or with bales of goods, as the cargo of a ship, is no doubt a *most detestable and anti-christian practice.*—*Scott's Commentaries on the Bible.*

SAMUEL TAYLOR COLERIDGE.

We have offended, Oh! my countrymen!
 We have offended very grievously,
 And been most tyrannous. From east to west
 A groan of accusation pierces Heaven!
 The wretched plead against us; multitudes
 Countless and vehement, the sons of God,
 Our brethren! Like a cloud that travels on,
 Steam'd up from Cairo's swamps of pestilence,
 Even so, my countrymen! have we gone forth
 And borne to distant tribes slavery and pangs,
 And deadlier far our vices, whose deep taint
 With slow perdition murders the whole man,
 His body and his soul!

Sibylline Leaves.

There are truths so self-evident, or so immediately and palpably deduced from those that are, or are acknowledged for such, that they are at once intelligible to all men who possess the common advantages of the social state; although by sophistry, by evil habit, by the neglect, false persuasions and impostures of an Anti-Christian priesthood joined in one conspiracy with the violence of tyrannical governors, the understandings of men have become so darkened and their consciences so lethargic, that there may arise a necessity for the republication of these truths, and this too with a voice of loud alarm and impassioned warning. Such were the doctrines proclaimed by the first christians to the pagan world; such were the lightnings flashed by Wickliff, Huss, Luther, Calvin, Zuinglius, Latimer, &c., across the papal darkness, and such in our time the truths with which Thomas Clarkson, and his excellent confederates, the Quakers, fought and conquered the legalized banditti of men-stealers, the numerous and

powerful perpetrators and advocates of rapine and murder, and (of blacker guilt than either) slavery. Truths of this kind being indispensable to man, considered as a moral being, are above all *expediency*, all accidental consequences; for as sure as God is holy, and man immortal, there can be no evil so great as the ignorance or disregard of them. It is the very madness of mock prudence to oppose the removal of a poisonous dish on account of the pleasant sauces or nutritious viands which would be lost with it! The dish contains destruction to that, for which alone we wish the palate to be gratified or the body to be nourished.—*The Friend*, pages 49, 50.

JAMES STEPHEN, Esq.

Enough was known before; more than enough was incontrovertibly proved; nay, enough was always admitted or undenied, to make the legislative toleration of this slavery a disgrace to the British and Christian name. Iniquity, indeed, of every kind loses in human detestation what it gains in mischief, by wide unproved diffusion, and by age. We sin remorselessly, because our fathers sinned, and because multitudes of our own generation sin, in the same way without discredit. But if ever those most flagitious crimes of Europe, slave-trade and colonial slavery, shall cease to be tolerated by human laws, and live in history alone, men will look back upon them with the horror they deserve; and wonder as much at the depravity of the age that could establish or maintain them, as we now do at the murderous rites of our pagan ancestors, or the ferocious cannibal manners of New Zealand.

There is enough in the simplest conception of personal hereditary slavery, to revolt every just and liberal mind, independently of all aggravations to be found in its particular origin, or in abuses of the master's powers. But how much should sympathy and indignation be enhanced, when the cruel perpetual privation of freedom, and of almost every civil and human right, is the punishment of no crime, nor the harsh consequence of public hostility in war, but imposed upon the innocent and helpless, by the hand of rapacious violence alone; and maintained for no other object but the sordid one of the master's profit, by the excessive labor to which they are compelled?

Were our merchants to send agents to buy captives from the bandits in the forests of Italy, or from the pirates on the Barbary coast, and sell them here as slaves, to work for our farmers or manufacturers; and were the purchasers to claim, in consequence, a right to hold these victims of rapine and avarice, with their children, in bondage for ever, and to take their work without wages; what would it be but the same identical case we are contemplating, except that the captives were of a different complexion? Yet the bandits and pirates are hanged; and their vendees, in the case supposed, would have less to apprehend from actions or indictments for false imprisonment, than from the vengeance of indignant multitudes. It certainly, at least, would not be necessary, for the purpose of their deliverance, to prove to the British parliament or people, that the poor captives were overworked,

under fed, driven with whips to their work, punished in a brutal way for every real or imputed fault, and by such complicated oppressions brought in great numbers prematurely to their graves.

LORD NUGENT.

The slave-trade finds no one bold enough now to defend even its memory. And yet when we hear the slave-trade reprobated, and slavery defended by the same persons, I must own I think the slave-trade unfairly treated. The abuse of defunct slave-trade is a cheap price for the abettor of living slavery to pay by way of compromise. But we cannot allow the Colonial party on these terms to cry truce with us, by stigmatizing the slave-trade. There is not one general principle on which the slave-trade is to be stigmatized which does not impeach slavery itself.

DR. LUSHINGTON.

It has never been given by God to man to hold his fellow man in bondage. Every thing short of a total abolition of slavery he considered as unsatisfactory, and ending only in disappointment and discontent. The supporters of the abolition of slavery took their stand upon the eternal principles of truth and justice, and it would be next to blasphemy to doubt their success.

ANDREW THOMPSON.

Slavery is the very Upas tree of the moral world, beneath whose pestiferous shade all intellect languishes, and all virtue dies. It must be cut down and eradicated; it must be, root and branch of it, cast into the consuming fire, and its ashes scattered to the four winds of heaven. It is thus you must deal with slavery. You must annihilate it,—annihilate it now, and annihilate it for ever.

ROWLAND HILL.

Slavery is made up of every crime that treachery, cruelty, and murder can invent; and men-stealers are the very worst of thieves. The most knavish tricks are practised by these dealers in human flesh; and if slaves think of our general character, they must suppose that christians are devils, and that christianity was forged in hell.

GROTIUS.

Those are *men-stealers*, who abduct, keep, sell, or buy slaves or freemen. To steal a man is the highest kind of theft.

POPE LEO, X.

Not only the christian religion, but Nature herself cries out against a state of slavery.

THE HOLY BIBLE.

MOSES.—*Chap. I, ver. 27.* So God created man in his own image: in the image of God created he him; male and female created he them.—*Genesis.* [*Not tyrants and slaves.*]

XXI, 16. And he that stealeth a man, and selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, he shall surely be put to death.

XXIII, 9. Also thou shalt not oppress a stranger: for ye know the heart of a stranger, seeing ye were strangers in the land of Egypt.—*Exodus.*

XIX, 13. Thou shalt not defraud thy neighbor, neither rob him: the wages of him that is hired shall not abide with thee all night until the morning.

18. Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself.

33. And if a stranger sojourn with thee in your land, ye shall not vex him.

XXV, 10. And ye shall hallow the fiftieth year, and proclaim liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof; it shall be a jubilee unto you; and ye shall return every man unto his possession, and ye shall return every man unto his family.—*Leviticus.*

XV, 14. Thou shalt not oppress an hired servant that is poor and needy, whether he be of thy brethren, or of thy strangers that are in thy land within thy gates.

XXIII, 15. THOU SHALT NOT DELIVER UNTO HIS MASTER THE SERVANT WHICH IS ESCAPED FROM HIS MASTER UNTO THEE.—*Deuteronomy*

JOB.—*Chap. IV, ver. 8.* Even as I have seen, they that plow iniquity, and sow wickedness, reap the same.

XV, 20. The wicked man travaileth with pain all his days, and the number of years is hidden to the oppressor.

XX, 18. That which he labored for shall he restore, and shall not swallow it down: according to his substance shall the restitution be, and he shall not rejoice therein.

19. Because he hath oppressed and hath forsaken the poor; because he hath violently taken away an house which he builded not:

DAVID.—*Ps. XVIII, ver, 25* With the merciful thou wilt shew thyself merciful; with an upright man thou wilt shew thyself upright;

27. For thou wilt save the afflicted people; but wilt bring down high looks.

LXXII, 4. He shall judge the poor of the people, he shall save the children of the needy, and shall break in pieces the oppressor.—*Psalms.*

SOLOMON.—*Chap. III, ver. 1.* And Solomon made affinity with Pharaoh, king of Egypt, and took Pharaoh's daughter, and brought her into the city of David. 1 *Kings.*

I, 24. Because I have called and ye refused; I have stretched out my hand, and no man regarded;

25. But ye have set at nought all my counsel, and would none of my reproof:

26. I also will laugh at your calamity ; I will mock when your fear cometh ;—*Proverbs*.

IV, 1. So I returned, and considered all the oppressions that are done under the sun : and behold, the tears of *such as were* oppressed, and they had no comforter ; and on the side of their oppressors *there was* power ; but they had no comforter.—*Ecclesiastes*.

ISAIAH.—*Chap. V, ver. 20*. Woe unto them that call evil good, and good evil ; that put darkness for light, and light for darkness ; that put bitter for sweet, and sweet for bitter !

LVIII, 6. *Is* not this the fast that I have chosen ? to loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke ?

JEREMIAH.—*Chap. XXXIV, ver. 17*. Therefore thus saith the LORD, Ye have not hearkened unto me, in proclaiming liberty, every one to his brother, and every man to his neighbor : behold, I proclaim a liberty for you saith the LORD, to the sword, to the pestilence, and to the famine ; and I will make you to be removed into all the kingdoms of the earth.

JESUS CHRIST.

Chap. V, ver. 7. Blessed are the merciful : for they shall obtain mercy.

VII, 2. For with what judgment ye judge, ye shall be judged : and with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again.

12. Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them : for this is the law and the prophets.

IX, 13. But go ye and learn what *that* meaneth, I will have mercy, and not sacrifice : for I am not come to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance.

XXIII, 8. But be ye not called Rabbi : for one is your Master, even Christ ; and all ye are brethren.

XXV, 45. Verily, I say unto you, inasmuch as ye did *it* not to one of the least of these, ye did *it* not to me.—*St. Matthew's Gospel*.

IV, 8. To preach deliverance to the captives, and recovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised.—*St. Luke*.

ST. PETER.—*Chap. X, ver. 34*. ¶ Then Peter opened *his* mouth, and said, Of a truth I perceive that God is no respecter of persons :

35. But in every nation he that feareth him, and worketh righteousness, is accepted with him.—*Acts*.

III, 8. Finally, *be ye* all of one mind, having compassion one of another ; love as brethren, *be* pitiful, *be* courteous ;—*1st Epistle*.

ST. PAUL.—*Chap. II, ver. 6*. Who will render to ever man according to his deeds.

11. For there is no respect of persons with God.—*Epistle to the Romans*.

XVII, 26. And hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on the face of the earth, and hath determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation.—*Acts*.

III, 17. Now the Lord is that Spirit : and where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty.

VIII, 14. But by an equality, *that* now at this time your abundance may be a supply for their want, that their abundance also

may be *a supply* for your want, that there may be equality.—*2 Corinthians.*

V, 1. Stand fast therefore in the liberty wherewith Christ has made us free, and be not entangled again with the yoke of bondage.

13. For, brethren, ye have been called unto liberty; only *use* not liberty for an occasion to the flesh, but by love serve one another.

14. For all the law is fulfilled in one word, *even* in this, Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself.—*Galatians.*

V, 9. And, ye masters, do the same things unto them, forbearing threatening: knowing that your Master also is in heaven; neither is there respect of persons with him.—*Ephesians.*

III, 25. But he that doeth wrong shall receive for the wrong which he hath done: and there is no respect of persons.

IV, 1. Masters, give unto *your* servants that which is just and equal; knowing that ye also have a Master which is in heaven.—*Colossians.*

XIII, 3. Remember them that are in bonds, as bound with them; and them which suffer adversity, as being yourselves also in the body.—*Hebrews.*

ST. JAMES.—*Chap. II, ver. 6.* But ye have despised the poor. Do not rich men oppress you, and draw you before the judgment-seats?

8. If ye fulfil the royal law ac-

ording to the scripture, Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself, ye do well:

9. But if ye have respect to persons, ye commit sin, and are convinced of the law as transgressors.

ST. JOHN.—*Chap. IV, ver. 20.* If a man say, I love God and hateth his brother, he is a liar: for he that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen?

21. And this commandment have we from him, That he who loveth God love his brother also.—*1st Epistle.*

XIII, 9. If any man have an ear, let him hear.

10. He that leadeth into captivity, shall go into captivity: he that killeth with the sword, must be killed with the sword.

11. And the merchants of the earth shall weep and mourn over her; for no man buyeth their merchandise any more:

13. Fine flour, and wheat, and beasts, and sheep, and horses, and chariots, and slaves and souls of men.

XX, 13. And the sea gave up the dead which were in it; and death and hell delivered up the dead which were in them: and they were judged every man according to their works.

XXII, 12. And behold I come quickly; and my reward is with me, to give every man according as his work shall be.—*Revelation.*

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APPENDIX.

SLAVE LAWS.

Extracted chiefly from Stroud's "Sketch of the Laws relating to Slavery in the United States of America."

WHO MAY BE HELD AS SLAVES.

The law of South Carolina, to which those of all the slave states are similar, is as follows:—

"All negroes, *Indians*, (free Indians in amity with this government, and negroes, mulattoes and mestizoes, who are *now* free, excepted,) mulattoes or mestizoes, who now are or shall hereafter be in this province, and all their issue and offspring born or to be born, shall be and they are hereby declared to be and remain for ever hereafter absolute slaves, and shall *follow the condition of the mother.*" *Act of 1740* 2 *Brevard's Digest*, 229.

Descendants of Indians, as well as of Africans are probably involved in the doom of slavery in all the slave states. In Virginia the enslavement of Indians was authorized by statute from 1679 to 1691. Those whose maternal ancestors have been reduced to slavery since the latter period, have been decided by the highest courts in that state to be free. So late as 1797, it was decided by the Supreme Court of *New Jersey*, Chief Justice Kinsey, that Indians might be held as slaves.

"They (Indians) have been so long recognized as slaves, in our law, that it would be as great a violation of the rights of property to establish a contrary doctrine at the present day, as it would in the case of Africans; *and as useless to investigate the manner in which they ORIGINALLY lost their freedom.*" *The State vs. Waggoner*, 1 *Halstead's Reports*, 374 to 376.

Persons emancipated, but not in the prescribed form of law, are liable to be re-enslaved, thus in South Carolina,

"In case any slave shall be emancipated or set free, otherwise than according to the act (of 1800) regulating emancipation, it shall be lawful for any person whosoever to seize and convert to his or her own use, and to keep as his or her property the said slave so illegally emancipated or set free." 2 *Brevard's Digest*, 256.

And in Virginia, "If any emancipated slave (infants excepted) shall remain within the state more than twelve months after his or her right to freedom shall have accrued, he or she shall *forfeit* all such right, and may be apprehended and sold by the overseers of the poor, &c. for the benefit of THE LITERARY FUND!!" 1 *Rev. Code*, 436.

THE POWER GRANTED BY LAW TO THE MASTER.

According to the law of Louisiana, "A slave is one who is in the power of a master to whom he belongs. The master may sell him, dispose of his person, his industry and his labour; he can do nothing, possess nothing, nor acquire any thing but what must belong to his master." *Civil Code. art.* 35.

In South Carolina it is expressed in the following language: "Slaves shall be deemed, sold, taken, reputed and judged in law to be *chattels personal* in the hands of their owners and possessors, and their executors, administrators and assigns, to all intents, constructions and purposes whatsoever." 2 *Brevard's Digest*, 229.

In Louisiana, "Slaves though moveable by their nature," says the civil code, "are considered as immoveable by the operation of the law." *Art.* 461. And by act of Assembly of June 7, 1806, "Slaves shall always be reputed and considered *real estate*; shall be, as such, subject to be mortgaged, according to the rules prescribed by law, and they shall be seized and sold as *real estate*." 1 *Martin's Digest*, 612. And in Kentucky, by the law of *descents*, they are considered *real estate*, 2 *Litt. and Swi. Digest*, 1155, and pass in consequence to *heirs* and not to executors. They are, however, liable as *chattels* to be sold by the master at his pleasure, and may be taken in execution in payment of his debts. *Ibid. and see* 1247.

RESTRICTIONS OF THE MASTER'S POWER.

So far as the law restricts the master's power at all, it only shows how shamefully and cruelly that power is abused—perhaps we should say *used*, for the very possession of it is an abuse. The very limitations leave the power of the master far beyond mercy. And so far as they go, they are but a mockery, by reason that the testimony of a colored man cannot be taken against a white one. In regard to the TIME OF LABOR, we find the following law in South Carolina:

"Whereas many owners of slaves, and others who have the care, management and overseeing of slaves, do confine them so closely to hard labor, that they have not sufficient time for natural rest: Be it therefore enacted, That if any owner of slaves, or other person who shall have the care, management, or overseeing of any slaves, shall work or put any such slave or slaves to labour more than fifteen hours in twenty-four hours, from the twenty-fifth day of March to the twenty-fifth day of September; or more than fourteen hours in twenty-four hours, from the twenty-fifth day of September to the twenty-fifth day of March, every such person shall forfeit any sum not exceeding twenty pounds, nor under five pounds, current money, for every time he, she or they shall offend herein, at the discretion of the justice before whom the complaint shall be made." 2 *Brevard's Digest*, 243.

In Louisiana, the subjoined act was passed, July 7, 1806. "As for the hours of work and rest, which are to be assigned to slaves in summer and winter, the old usages of the territory shall be adhered to, to wit: The slaves shall be allowed half an hour for breakfast during the

whole year; from the first day of May to the first day of November, they shall be allowed two hours for dinner; and from the first day of November to the first day of May, one hour and a half for dinner: Provided, however, That the owners who will themselves take the trouble of causing to be prepared the meals of their slaves, be, and they are hereby authorized to abridge, by half an hour per day, the time fixed for their rest." 1 *Martin's Digest*, 610—12.

Judge Stroud quotes the statutes of five legislatures by which ten hours out of the twenty-four is the longest space for labor which can be demanded of convicted felons, sentenced to HARD LABOR.

Some of the states oblige the master to furnish his slaves a certain amount of PROVISIONS.

Thus in Louisiana, "Every owner shall be held to give to his slaves the quantity of provisions hereafter specified, to wit; *one barrel of Indian corn*, or the equivalent thereof in rice, beans or other grain, and a pint of salt, and to deliver the same to the said slaves in kind *every month*, and never in money, under a penalty of a fine of ten dollars for every offence." 1 *Martin's Digest*, 610, *act of July 7, 1806*. In North Carolina, *a much less* quantity of the same kind of food is deemed sufficient, as is implied from the following *curious* section of an act passed in 1753, and which is still in force. "In case any slave or slaves, who shall not appear to have been clothed and fed according to the intent and meaning of this act, that is to say, to have been sufficiently clothed, and to have constantly received for the preceding year an allowance not less than *a quart of corn per day*, shall be convicted of stealing any corn, cattle, &c. &c. from any person not the owner of such slave or slaves, such injured person shall and may maintain an action of trespass against the master, owner or possessor of such slave, &c. and shall recover his or her damages, &c." *Haywood's Manual*, 524—5.

The allowance of CLOTHING in Louisiana, seems to have been graduated by the same standard by which the quantity of food was determined in North Carolina. "The slave who shall not have on the property of their owners a lot of ground to cultivate on their own account, shall be entitled to receive from said owner *one linen shirt and pantaloons (une chemise et une culotte de toile)* for the summer, and a linen shirt and woollen great coat and pantaloons for the winter." 1 *Martin's Digest*, 610.

The other states do not pretend to fix the kind and quantity of food and clothing which the slave shall receive, but some of them have enacted safeguards against the stinginess of the master which are not only perfectly nugatory, but seem to have been designed to be so. See Stroud, p, 32.

THE POWER TO PUNISH,

Is thus restricted by the law of North Carolina:

Section 3, of the act passed in 1798, runs thus: "Whereas by another act of the assembly, passed in the year 1774, the killing of a slave, however wanton, cruel and deliberate, is only punishable in the

first instance by imprisonment and paying the value thereof to the owner, which *distinction of criminality between the murder of a white person and one who is equally a human creature, but merely of a different complexion, is DISGRACEFUL TO HUMANITY, AND DEGRADING IN THE HIGHEST DEGREE TO THE LAWS AND PRINCIPLES OF A FREE, CHRISTIAN AND ENLIGHTENED COUNTRY, Be it enacted, &c.* That if any person shall hereafter be guilty of wilfully and maliciously killing a slave, such offender shall, upon the first conviction thereof, be adjudged guilty of murder, and shall suffer the same punishment as if he had killed a free man; *Provided always, this act shall not extend to the person killing a slave outlawed by virtue of any act of assembly of this state, or to any slave in the act of resistance to his lawful owner or master, OR TO ANY SLAVE DYING UNDER MODERATE CORRECTION.*" *Haywood's Manual*. 530 ; and see *Laws of Tennessee, act of Oct. 23, 1799*, with a like proviso.

The Constitution of Georgia has the following: Art. 4, § 12.

"Any person who shall maliciously dismember or deprive a slave of life, shall suffer such punishment as would be inflicted in case the like offence had been committed on a free white person, and on the like proof, except in case of insurrection of such slave, and unless SUCH DEATH SHOULD HAPPEN BY ACCIDENT IN GIVING SUCH SLAVE MODERATE CORRECTION." *Prince's Digest*, 559.

Judge Stroud remarks, "that a proclamation of *outlawry* against a slave is authorized, whenever he runs away from his master, conceals himself in some obscure retreat, and, to sustain life, kills a hog, or some animal of the cattle kind !!" See *Haywood's Manual*, 521 ; *act of 1741, ch. 24, § 45.*

In South Carolina by the Act of 1740 the "wilful murder" of a slave was punished by a fine of "seven hundred pounds, current money" and inability to hold office, but another description of murder, more likely to occur, was punished as follows:—

"If any person shall, on a sudden heat or passion, or by *undue correction*, kill his own slave, or the slave of any other person, he shall forfeit the sum of *three hundred and fifty pounds, current money.*" *Brevard's Digest*, 241.

By an act of 1821, the former provision was abolished but the latter was continued, diminishing the price to five hundred dollars, and authorizing an imprisonment of six months. *James' Digest*, 392.

The following *protection* for the limbs of the slave has been in force, in South Carolina from 1740 to the present time:

"In case any person shall wilfully cut out the tongue, put out the eye, castrate, or *cruelly scald, burn, or deprive any slave of any limb, or member, or shall inflict any other cruel punishment, other than by whipping or beating with a horsewhip, cowskin, switch or small stick, or by putting irons on, or confining or imprisoning such slave*, every such person shall, for every such offence, forfeit the sum of one hundred pounds, current money." 2 *Brevard's Digest*, 241.

But the legislatures do not occupy themselves altogether in protecting the slave and restraining the master. Louisiana imposes a heavier penalty for *taking off irons* than she does for the "*cruel punishments*," specified above, as appears from this :

"If any person or persons, &c. shall cut or break any iron chain or collar, which any master of slaves should have used in order to prevent the running away or escape of any such slave or slaves, such person or persons so offending shall, on conviction, &c. be fined not less than two hundred dollars, nor exceeding one thousand dollars; and suffer imprisonment for a term not exceeding two years, nor less than six months." *Act of Assembly, of March 6, 1819—pamphlet, page 64.*

Now in the same state, the law before quoted from South Carolina is in force and the penalty is a fine of *not more than five hundred dollars, nor less than two hundred!*

In Missouri, the master is assisted in punishing as follows:—

"If any slave resist his or her master, mistress, overseer or employer, or *refuse* to obey his or her lawful commands, it shall be lawful for such master, &c. to commit such slave to the common gaol of the county, there to remain *at the pleasure* of the master, &c.; and the sheriff shall receive such slave, and keep him, &c. in confinement, at the expense of the person committing him or her." *1 Missouri Laws 309.*

POWER OF THE MASTER EXERCISED BY OTHERS.

According to the universal practice of the slave states, the master may delegate his tremendous power to any other person whom he pleases. Louisiana has the following express law :

"The condition of a slave being merely a passive one, his subordination to his master, and to all who *represent* him, is not susceptible of any modification or restriction, (except in what can incite the slave to the commission of crime,) in such manner, that he owes to his master and to all his family a respect without bounds and an absolute obedience, and he is consequently to execute all the orders which he receives from him, his said master, or from them." *1 Martin's Digest, 316.*

SLAVES CANNOT HOLD PROPERTY.

Thus in *South Carolina* : "It shall not be lawful for any slave to buy, sell, trade, &c. for any goods, &c. without a license from the owner, &c. nor shall any slave be permitted to keep any boat, periauger or canoe, or raise and breed, for the benefit of such slave, any horses, mares, cattle, sheep or hogs, under pain of forfeiting all the goods, &c. and all the boats, periaugers, or canoes, horses, mares, cattle, sheep, or hogs. And it shall be lawful for any person whatsoever, to seize and take away from any slave, all such goods, &c. boats, &c. &c. and to deliver the same into the hands of any justice of the peace nearest to the place, where the seizure shall be made, and such justice shall take the oath of the person making such seizure, concerning the manner thereof; and if the said justice shall be satisfied that such seizure has

been made according to law, he shall pronounce and declare the goods so seized, to be forfeited, and order the same to be sold at public outcry, one half of the moneys arising from such sale to go to the state, and the other half to him or them that sue for the same," *James' Digest*, 385-6. *Act of 1740*.

In Georgia, to prevent the master from permitting the slave to hire himself for his own benefit, there is a penalty of thirty dollars "for every weekly offence, on the part of the master, unless the labor be done on his own premises." *Prince's Digest*, 457. In Kentucky, Mississippi, Tennessee, Virginia, and Missouri, there are similar laws.

As early as the year 1779, North Carolina interposed as follows: "All horses, cattle, hogs or sheep, that one month after the passing of this act, shall belong to any slave or be of any slave's mark, in this state, shall be seized and sold by the County Wardens, and by them applied, the one-half to the support of the poor of the county, and the other half to the informer," *Haywood's Manual*, 526.

In Mississippi, the master incurs a fine of fifty dollars by permitting the slave to cultivate cotton for his own use. *Rev. Code*, 379; also fifty dollars for permitting the slave to go at large and trade as a freeman *Rev. Code*, 374.

The civil code of Louisiana lays down the following principles:

"All that a slave possesses belongs to his master,—he possesses nothing of his own, except his peculium, that is to say, the sum of money or moveable estate, which his master chooses he should possess." *Art. 175*, and see *1 Martin's Digest*, 616. "Slaves are incapable of inheriting or transmitting property." *Civil Code*, art. 945.

SEPARATION OF FAMILIES.

In Louisiana there is a law against selling infirm parents apart from their children, without their consent, but there is none against selling the children apart from the parents, nor is there known to be in any of the other slave states, any legal restraints whatever, in regard to the separation of families by purchase and sale.

THE SLAVE, AS A MAN, IS NOT UNDER THE PROTECTION OF LAW.

He cannot bring a suit against his master or any other person for an injury. His master may bring an action against a third person for an injury of his property. But this is a poor protection of the slave, for, first, it weakens the motive of the master to protect the slave. If the injury were to come upon his own pocket he would be more careful to prevent it. Secondly, the master can recover nothing, unless the injury deteriorates the value—which it may not do, although in itself very great. The Supreme Court of Maryland has decided:

"There must be, a loss of service, or at least, a diminution of the faculty of the slave for bodily labor, to warrant an action by the master." 1 *Harris and Johnson's Reports*, 4. *Cornfute vs. Dale*.

THE SLAVE HAS NO MARRIAGE RIGHTS.

This follows, of course, from his being a "chattel." The following is, unquestionably, law and fact throughout the slave states.

"A slave has never maintained an action against the violator of his bed. A slave is not admonished for incontinence, or punished for fornication or adultery; never prosecuted for bigamy, or petty treason for killing a husband being a slave, any more than admitted to an appeal for murder." *Opinion of Daniel Dulany, Esq. Attorney General of Maryland*, 1 *Maryland Reports*, 561, 563.

A COLORED PERSON CANNOT BE A WITNESS AGAINST A WHITE PERSON, EITHER IN A CIVIL OR CRIMINAL CAUSE.

This principle renders whatever statutes may be framed in favor of the slave, perfectly nominal and nugatory. The master or any white man has only to remove white witnesses and he may perpetrate what cruelties upon slaves he pleases. In the ordinary driving of the cane and cotton fields there is but one white man present. In some of the slave states this principle is established by custom. In Virginia, and some other of the slave states, and in one of the *free*, there is the following law:

"Any negro or mulatto, bond or free, shall be a good witness in pleas of the commonwealth for or against negroes or mulattoes, bond or free, or in civil pleas where free negroes or mulattoes shall alone be parties, and in no other cases whatever." 1 *R. V. C.* 422. Similar in Missouri, 2 *Missouri Laws*, 600. In Mississippi, *Mississippi Rev. Code*, 372. In Kentucky, 2 *Litt. & Swi.* 1150. In Alabama, *Toulmin's Digest*, 627. In Maryland, *Maryland, Laws, act of 1717, ch. 13, § 2, & 3, and an act of 1751, ch. 14, § 4*. In North Carolina and Tennessee, *act of 1777, ch. 2, § 42*. And in OHIO, *act of Assembly, of January 25, 1807*.

THE BURDEN OF PROOF THROWN UPON THE COLORED MAN.

A white man may enslave any colored one, and, as between himself and the slave, the law does not require him to establish his claim. The slave is compelled to remain so, if he cannot *prove his freedom*. The South Carolina Act of 1740, permits persons held as slaves and claiming to be free, to petition the judges of the Court of Common Pleas, who if they see cause may allow a *guardian* to bring an action for freedom against the master. The sequel of this law shows how poor is the encouragement for both the suitor and his guardian.

"And if judgment shall be given for the plaintiff, a special entry shall

be made, declaring, that the ward of the plaintiff is free, and the jury shall assess damages which the plaintiff's ward hath sustained, and the court shall give judgment and award execution against the defendant for such damages, with full costs of suit; *but in case judgment shall be given for the defendant, the said court is hereby fully empowered to inflict SUCH CORPORAL PUNISHMENT, NOT EXTENDING TO LIFE OR LIMB, on the ward of the plaintiff, as they in their discretion shall think fit.* Provided, that in any action or suit to be brought in pursuance of the direction of this act, THE BURDEN OF THE PROOF shall lay upon the plaintiff, and it shall be always presumed that every negro, Indian, mulatto and mestizo, is a slave, unless the contrary be made to appear, (the Indians in amity with this government excepted, in which case, the burden of the proof shall be on the defendant.") 2 *Brevard's Digest*, 229-30.

Virginia shows her hostility to the claim for freedom by the following provision of her Revised Code:

"For *aiding and abetting* a slave in a trial for freedom, if the claimant shall fail in his suit, a fine of one hundred dollars is imposed. 1 *Rev. Code*, 482.

The only known exception to this principle of throwing the *burden of proof* upon the person claimed as a slave, is in North Carolina, where persons of mixed blood, by a decision of the court are presumed to be free. Were this doctrine reversed, and the *presumption* to be in favor of liberty, thousands would be free at once.

By this cruel presumption, free persons are constantly taken up on suspicion of being runaways, and after being in prison for some months, are sold to pay their JAIL FEES.

PROHIBITION OF MENTAL INSTRUCTION.

South Carolina may lay claim to the earliest movement in legislation on this subject. In 1740, while yet a province, she enacted this law: "Whereas the having of slaves taught to write, or suffering them to be employed in writing, may be attended with great inconveniences, Be it enacted, That all and every person and persons whatsoever, who shall hereafter teach or cause any slave or slaves to be taught to write, or shall use or employ any slave as a scribe in any manner of writing whatsoever hereafter taught to write, every such person or persons shall, for every such offence, forfeit the sum of one hundred pounds current money." 2 *Brevard's Digest*, 243; similar in Georgia, *by act of 1770*, except as to the penalty, which is twenty pounds sterling. *Prince's Digest*, 455.

In the same state the following additional restraints were enacted in 1800:

"That assemblies of slaves, free negroes, mulattoes and mestizoes, whether composed of all or any of such description of persons, or of all or any of the same and of a proportion of white persons, met together for the purpose of *mental instruction* in a confined or secret

place, &c. &c., is (are) declared to be an unlawful meeting, and magistrates, &c. &c., are hereby required, &c. to enter into such confined places, &c. &c., to break doors, &c. if resisted, and to disperse such slaves, free negroes, &c. &c., and the officers dispersing such unlawful assemblage, *may inflict such corporal punishment, not exceeding twenty lashes, upon such slaves, free negroes, &c. as they may judge necessary, for DETERRING THEM FROM THE LIKE UNLAWFUL ASSEMBLAGE IN FUTURE.*" *Brevard's Digest*, 254. And another section of the same act declares, "That it shall not be lawful for any number of free negroes, mulattoes or mestizoes, even of slaves in company with white persons, to meet together for the purpose of *mental instruction*, either before the rising of the sun or after the going down of the same." 2 *Brevard's Digest*, 254-5.

Virginia passed the following in 1819:

"That all meetings or assemblages of slaves or free negroes or mulattoes mixing and associating with such slaves at any meeting house, or houses, or any other place, &c. in the night, or at any school or schools for teaching them reading or writing either in the day or night, under whatsoever pretext, shall be deemed and considered an *unlawful assembly*; and any justice of a county, &c. wherein such assemblage shall be, either from his own knowledge or the information of others, of such unlawful assemblage, &c. may issue his warrant directed to any sworn officer or officers, authorizing him or them to enter the house or houses where such unlawful assemblages, &c. may be, for the purpose of apprehending or dispersing such slaves, and to *inflict corporal punishment on the offender or offenders*, at the discretion of any justice of the peace, *not exceeding twenty lashes.*" 1 *Rev. Code*, 424-5.

Similar laws exist in most of the slave states, and in all, *mental instruction* is practically discouraged.

RELIGIOUS WORSHIP.

The southern statute books are full of laws against the assembling of slaves for religious worship, excepting under the most difficult and inquisitorial restrictions. The South Carolina Act of 1800 has the following:—

"It shall not be lawful for any number of slaves, free negroes, mulattoes or mestizoes, *even in company* with white persons, to meet together and assemble for the purpose of mental instruction or *religious worship*, either before the rising of the sun or after the going down of the same. And all magistrates, sheriffs, militia officers, &c. &c. are hereby vested with power, &c. for dispersing such assemblies," &c., 2 *Brevard's Digest*, 254-5.

THE SLAVE IS OBLIGED TO SURRENDER HIS RIGHTS TO OTHER WHITE PERSONS AS WELL AS HIS MASTER.

Georgia has the following:—

"If any slave shall *presume* to strike any white person, such slave,

upon trial and conviction before the justice or justices, according to the directions of this act, shall for the *first* offence, suffer such punishment as the said justice or justices shall, in his or their discretion think fit, not extending to life or limb; and for the *second* offence, suffer DEATH."

The law is similar in South Carolina; in both states the slave is not punished, however, when he strikes "by the command, and in the defence of the person or property of the owner, &c."

The Code of Louisiana gravely lays down the following principle:

"Free people of colour ought never to insult or strike white people, nor presume to conceive themselves equal to the whites; but on the contrary, they ought to *yield to them on every occasion*, and never speak or answer them, but with respect, under the penalty of imprisonment, according to the nature of the offence." 1 *Martin's Digest*, 640-42.

The following are specimens of the laws by which the whole white community have made themselves tyrants over the slaves:

"If any slave shall *happen* to be slain for refusing to surrender him or herself, contrary to law, or in unlawful resisting any officer or *other person*, who shall apprehend or endeavour to apprehend, such slave or slaves, &c., such officer or *other person so killing such slave as aforesaid*, making resistance, shall be, and he is by this act, *indemnified* from any prosecution for such killing aforesaid, &c." *Maryland Laws, act of 1751, chap. xiv. § 9.*

And by the negro act of 1740, of South Carolina, it is declared, "If any slave, who shall be out of the house or plantation where such slave shall live, or shall be usually employed, or without some white person in company with such slave, shall *refuse to submit* to undergo the examination of *any white* person, it shall be lawful for such white person to pursue, apprehend and moderately correct such slave; and if such slave shall assault and strike such white person, such slave may be *lawfully killed!*" 2 *Brevard's Digest*, 231.

THE PENAL CODES of the slaveholding states, bear much more severely upon the slaves than upon the whites. See *Stroud*, pp. 99-119.

RESTRAINTS UPON EMANCIPATION.

These exist in almost all the slave states, and in some, certainly interfere with the master's right of property in the slave. In South Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama, emancipation can take place only by special act of the legislature. In North Carolina no negro or mulatto slave can be set free "*except for meritorious services to be adjudged of and allowed by the County Court.*" In Tennessee the court is authorized to emancipate upon petition, if the measures set forth in the petition, are in the opinion of the court, "consistent with the interest and policy of the state." In Mississippi the legislature only can emancipate, by special act, and that only upon proof of *meritorious services*,

&c. In Kentucky, Missouri, Virginia, and Maryland, emancipation may be effected by deeds registered in court, saving the "rights of creditors," and giving bonds for maintenance if required by the court. In Virginia, however, if the emancipated be over twenty-one, he must leave the state before the expiration of twelve months, or be reduced into slavery. In Louisiana emancipation is regulated as follows :

"The master who wishes to emancipate his slave, is bound to make a declaration of his intention to the judge of the parish where he resides ; the judge must order notice of it to be published during forty days by advertisement posted at the door of the court house, and if at the expiration of this delay, no opposition be made, he shall authorize the master to pass the act of emancipation." *Art. 187.* The general powers thus conferred, are subject nevertheless, to these limitations : "No one can emancipate his slave unless the slave has attained the age of *thirty years*, and has behaved well at least for four years preceding his emancipation ;" *Art. 185*, except "*a slave who has saved the life of his master, his master's wife, or one of his children,*" for such a one "*may be emancipated at any age.*" *Art. 186.*

Slaves emancipated otherwise than by these formalities are liable to be reduced to slavery, and in probably all the states except North Carolina they are liable to be sold for the debts of their emancipators contracted before their emancipation. The State of Georgia has the following barbarous enactment :

"If any person or persons shall, after the passing of this act (1801,) set free any slave or slaves, in any other manner and form than the one prescribed herein, (i. e. by special legislative act,) he shall forfeit for every such *offence two hundred dollars*, to be recovered by action of debt, or *indictment*, the one half to be applied to the use of the county in which the *offence* may have been committed, the other half to the use of the informer, and the said slave or slaves so manumitted and set free, *shall be still to all intents and purposes as much in a state of slavery as before they were manumitted and set free* by the party or parties so offending." *Prince's Digest, 457.*

In 1818 this unrighteous edict was fortified by the following :

"All and every will and testament, deed, whether by way of trust or otherwise, contract, agreement or stipulation, or other instrument in writing, or by parole, made and executed for the purpose of effecting or endeavouring to effect the manumission of any slave or slaves, either directly by conferring or attempting to confer freedom on such slave or slaves, or indirectly or virtually, by allowing and securing or attempting to allow and secure to such slave or slaves the right or privilege of working for his, her or themselves, free from the control of the master or owner of such slave or slaves, or of enjoying the profits of his, her or their labour or skill, shall be and the same are hereby declared to be utterly null and void ; and the person or persons so making, &c. any such deed, &c. &c., and all and every person or persons concerned in giving or attempting to give effect thereto, whether

by accepting the trust thereby created or attempted to be created, or in any way or manner whatsoever, shall be severally liable to a penalty not exceeding *one thousand dollars*, to be recovered, &c. &c., and each and every slave or slaves in whose behalf such will or testament, &c. &c., shall have been made, shall be liable to be arrested by warrant under the hand and seal of any magistrate of this state, and being thereof *convicted*, &c. and shall be liable to be sold as a slave or slaves, by public outcry, and the proceeds of such sales shall be appropriated, &c. &c." *Prince's Digest*, 466.

LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES.

The Act of congress of 1793, respecting "persons escaping from the service of their masters," has the following section, whereby colored persons, or rather all persons, for there is no distinction in regard to color, are deprived of the right of TRIAL BY JURY, a right granted to all persons by the constitution :

"§ 3. *And be it further enacted*, That when a person held to labor in any of the United States, or in either of the territories on the northwest or south of the river Ohio, under the laws thereof, shall escape into any other of the said states, or territory, the person to whom such labor, or service, may be due, his agent, or attorney, is hereby empowered to seize or arrest such fugitive from labor, and to take him or her before any judge of the circuit or district courts of the United States, residing, or being within the state, or before any magistrate of a county, city, or town corporate, wherein such seizure or arrest shall be made, and upon *proof* to the *satisfaction of such judge, or magistrate*, either by oral testimony, or affidavit, taken before and certified by a *magistrate* of any such state or territory, that the person so seized, or arrested, doth, under the laws of the state or territory from which he or she fled, owe service or labor to the person claiming him or her, it shall be the duty of such judge or magistrate, to give a certificate to such claimant, his agent, or attorney, which shall be sufficient warrant for removing the said fugitive from labor, to the state or territory, from which he or she fled."—*Bioren and Duane*, Vol. III, p. 331.

In an "Act to provide a revenue for the Canal Fund," of the Aldermen and Common Council of the city of Washington, passed by virtue of authority derived from the congress of the United States, we find the following:—

"For a license to trade or traffic in slaves for profit, whether as agent or otherwise, four hundred dollars, &c.

"§ 2. *And be it enacted*, That the Register shall deposit all moneys received from taxes imposed by this Act, to the credit of the canal fund.—*Rothwell, City Laws*, 249.

[Approved, July 28, 1831.]

HUMAN SLAVERY;

By Captain Majoribanks.

“ AH ! Afric’s sons must stain the bloody shrine !
 But all those victims, Avarice, are *thine* !
 On Mercy’s God, those tyrants dare to call ;
 But Av’rice only is their lord of all !
 To him their rites incessantly they pay ;
 And waste for him the Negro’s life away !
 The British peasant ! healthy, bold, and *free* !
 Nor wealth, nor grandeur, half so blest as he !
 That state of life, for *happiness the first*,
 Dare you compare with this the *most accurs’d*.
 You found them slaves—but who that title gave ?
 The God of Nature never form’d a slave !
 Though Fraud or Force acquire a master’s name,
 Nature and Justice must remain the same !
 He who from thieves their booty, conscious, buys,
 May use an argument as sound and wise ;
 That he conceives no guilt attends his trade,
 Because the booty is already made.

“ Come, now, reflect what *tender modes* you take
 To make those beings labour—*for your sake* !
 First, then, you are so generous and good
 To give them time to rear a *little* food ;
 On the same selfish principle, of course,
 You feed (*far better though*) your mule or horse.
 Small is the portion, poor the granted soil,
 Till’d by the Negro’s restless Sabbath’s toil !
 What loud applause a master must deserve,
 Not to permit his property to *starve* !
 Ere he conceives your meaning or your view,
 The whip directs him what he is to do.
 No sex, no age, you ever learn’d to spare ;
 But female limbs indecently lay bare ;
 See the poor mother lay her babe aside,
 And stoop to punishment she must abide !
 Nor midst her pangs, her tears, her horrid cries,
 Dare the sad husband turn his pitying eyes.

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IMMEDIATE EMANCIPATION.

On the 23d of November, 1837, petitions were presented to the House of Lords, praying for the abolition of apprenticeship in the Colonies. Lord Brougham, in presenting some of these petitions, took occasion to remark, that "Antigua, infinitely to her honor, had refused to accept the apprenticeship system, and instead thereof, had struck off the fetters from her 40,000 slaves at a single blow." In regard to the results, he proceeded to say:—

"Their lordships would naturally ask whether the experiment had succeeded, and whether this sudden emancipation had been wisely and politically done. He should move for some returns, which he would venture to say, would prove that the experiment had entirely succeeded. He would give their lordships some proofs. First, property in that island had risen in value; secondly, with very few exceptions, and those of not greater importance than occurred in England during harvest, there was no deficiency in the number of laborers to be obtained, when laborers were wanted; thirdly, offences of all sorts, from capital offences downwards, had decreased—and this appeared from returns sent by the inspectors of slaves to the governor of the colony, and by him transmitted to the proper authority here: and fourthly, the export of sugar had increased. During the three years ending 1834, the average yearly export was 165,000 cwts, and for the three subsequent years, this average had increased to 189,000 cwts, being an increase of 24,000 cwts, or one clear seventh, produced by free labor as compared with slave labor. Nor were the three last years productive seasons, for in 1835 there was a very severe and destructive hurricane, and in the year 1836 there was such a drought that water had to be imported from Barbadoes. He hoped, therefore, that other colonies would be compelled to follow the example so successfully and voluntarily set to them by the colony of Antigua."—*Morning Herald*.

ANTIGUA—UNQUALIFIED ABOLITION.

The following is extracted from the late work of Sturge & Harvey, of England, who travelled in the West Indies for the purpose of ascertaining the working of the Abolition Act:—

"We visited an estate about twelve miles distant from St. John's, Antigua, in the district called Bermudian Valley. It was purchased by two gentlemen, immediately after the 1st of August, 1834; and though a losing concern to its former proprietor, *now yields, as we were informed by one of the present owners, a liberal profit per annum clear of expenses and interest.*

"One of us called this morning, the 12th Dec., upon the Hon. Samuel Warner, President of the council, whose testimony, like that of the Speaker, was decidedly favorable to the results of the emancipation.

"We called on the 15th upon the Governor to take leave, &c. He mentioned to us, that a gentleman, who was a proprietor, and also attorney for sixteen estates, and who had been strongly opposed to emancipation, had lately told him that *he was at length satisfied with the change, and would be sorry to return to the slave system.*

[See cover, page 3rd.]

“Our opportunities of personal observation were extensive. We had also the privilege of free communication with the most intelligent and influential persons in the colony.—*There is one subject upon which all are agreed—that the great experiment of abolition has succeeded beyond the expectations of its most sanguine advocates.* The measure has been felt to be one of emancipation of masters as well as slaves. The annual cost of cultivation is believed, by the most intelligent resident planters, to be on the average, one-fifth or one-sixth less than formerly; so that free labor is manifestly advantageous, taking even the narrowest view of the subject. There has been an augmentation of the import trade of the island. Houses and lands have risen in value, *estates are now worth as much as they were, with the slaves attached to them, before the alledged depreciation in their value, in consequence of the agitation of the abolition question.* The cultivation of one estate, which had been thrown up for twenty years, and of others which were on the point of being abandoned, has been resumed. *The few sold since 1834 have been eagerly bought up at very high prices.*

“The advantages which the laborers have derived from emancipation are numerous and complete enough to call for devout gratitude, on their behalf, from all who are interested in the progress of human happiness. The *exuvie* of slavery still hang about them, as well as their masters, but they possess now the capacity of elevating themselves in the scale of being; and they have means in their own power of escaping from oppression, by the choice of masters.

“In the first year (after emancipation) caprice was frequently manifested on the one hand, and a love of oppression on the other; but *in this, the third year of freedom, the records of the police courts show that both have materially decreased.*

“The Sabbath is more strictly observed in Antigua than in England, and the attendance on public worship very exemplary.”

FREE LABOR UNDER TOUSSAINT IN ST. DOMINGO.

The historian who was employed to lull the French people, salve the wounded fame and pride of Bonaparte for the defeat of Le Clerc and Rochambeau, and drown the cries of the widows and orphans of 60,000 Frenchmen, assigns the disaffection of the whites in the colony itself, as one great reason for the failure. He says, “It would seem to have been the natural course to organize into a national guard the inhabitants who were found in the towns on the arrival of the army; but there was not a man in whom any confidence could be placed. *The majority of the inhabitants of the towns loved the government of TOUSSAINT, because he had GORGED them with riches.*” Again, in excusing Rochambeau for the same failure to avail himself of the aid of the colonial whites, he says, “It may be said for him, that he could not, any more than Captain-General Le Clerc, put confidence in the *whites*, the majority of the inhabitants of the towns mourning, I repeat it, for the regime of Toussaint, which had enriched them.”*

The same author, to whom we have already referred, in describing the system of Toussaint in regard to the former slaves, who were required by law to work, says, “they had a fourth part of the produce,

* “*Campagnes des Francais, &c.*” by Albert de Lattre, a colonial proprietor and paymaster of the French army.—pp. 84, 87.

which was too much."* So it seems he not only enriched the citizens of the towns, but the laborers.

The same author, unwittingly, furnishes the most convincing testimony in favor of the industry and economy of the emancipated people under the *regime* of Toussaint, when he makes the following recommendation for the future regulation of the colony:—

"It is for the commercial interest of the Mother Country, and that of St. Domingo itself, that the laborers should be paid for their share of the products of the soil, only in articles manufactured in France. *The negroes already withdraw from circulation too much money by the sale of the productions of their industry, such as vegetables, fowls, eggs, fresh pork, &c.*"—p. 195.

Such is the statement of an enemy to abolition,—a planter who owned an estate in St. Domingo while it was governed as a *free labor colony* by the black Governor Toussaint Louverture, and who must have had the best means of knowing the things whereof he affirms. So far, then, were the freedmen of St. Domingo from sinking into idleness and want, that it was deemed necessary to provide against a diminution of the currency by their getting possession of it and hoarding it up, or paying it away for foreign manufactures!!

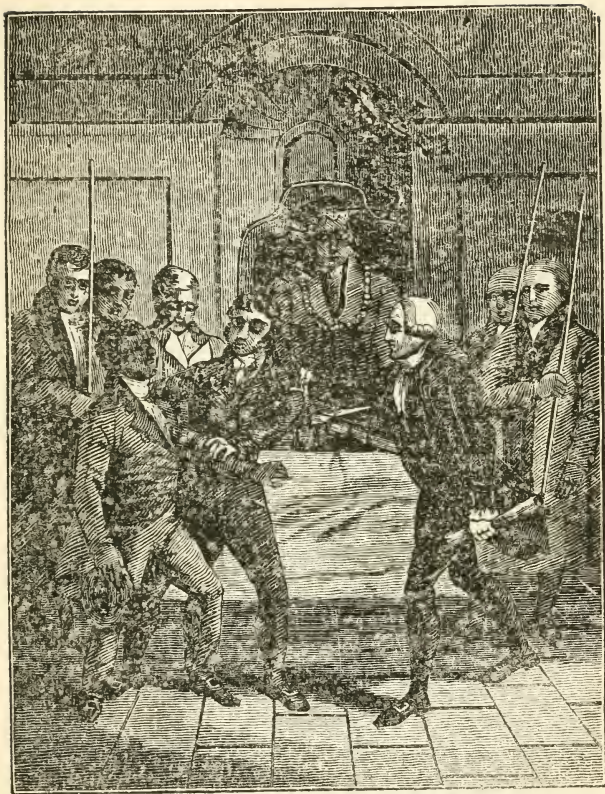
DANIEL O'CONNELL.

From his Speech before the Meeting in Exeter Hall, London, Nov. 23d, 1837.

"It is not the slave alone who suffers, but the man who supports and abets the system. There may be physical degradation to the slave, but there is moral degradation, burnt in with iron into the soul of the planter. (Cheers.) He ceases to be a man when he claims to be the master of his fellow-man. I care not in what clime or country this inhumanity exists. I hate it in all countries—in the serfs of Russia, in the Poles, under the dominion of a ruthless miscreant tyrant—(Cheers)—and in the slavery of the unfortunate men of color, under the pretended friends of liberty in the United States. (Cheers.) Behold those pretended sons of freedom, those who declared that all persons were equal in the presence of God, that every man had an inalienable right to liberty—and proclaiming it, too, in the name of God—behold them asseverating it in the name of honor, their paltry honor. (Loud cheers.) They are at this moment organizing new slave states. Remember that another country has been committed to slaveholders. They have seized upon the territory of Texas, taking it from the Mexicans, the Mexicans having abolished slavery without apprenticeship. (Loud cheers.) Remember that they have stolen, cheated, swindled, robbed a country, for the horrible purpose of continuing it in slavery. (Hear, hear, and cries of 'shame.') Remember that there is a treaty now on foot, in contemplation, at least, and only postponed between the President of the United States and these cruel ruffians, till this robbery of Texas from Mexico can be completed. Oh! raise the voice of humanity against republicans who have sentiments of pride and feelings of self-exaltation. (Cheers.) Let us tell these republicans, that instead of standing the highest in the scale of humanity, they are the basest of the base, and the vilest of the vile."

* *De Lettre*, p. 197.

THE PROGRESS OF HUMANITY.



THE FIRST SCENE IN BRITISH EMANCIPATION.

Granville Sharpe rescuing a young African, claimed as a slave, from his tyrant, in presence of the Mayor of London. Sharpe pursued his humane course, and his elaborate researches produced the work entitled "The injustice and dangerous tendency of tolerating slavery," and procured the grand and glorious decision from the British courts of justice published in 1769 in the face of all Europe and the world, "That every slave was *free*, as soon as he had set foot upon British ground." This Herculean achievement laid the corner stone of the hallowed temple of African liberty [since extended to all British Territories.]

David Simpson.

THE PROGRESS OF HUMANITY.



THE LAST SCENE IN BRITISH EMANCIPATION.

“After the 1st, Aug. 1834, SLAVERY shall be and is hereby utterly and forever abolished and declared unlawful throughout the BRITISH colonies plantations, and possessions abroad.” *Act, 3d and 4th, William IV.*

This noble Act was trammelled with an apprenticeship (to slavery to prepare its victims for freedom!) Antigua and Bermuda, declined the proffered continuation, with, of course, the happiest results. The Legislatures of Jamaica, Barbadoes, St. Vincent, St. Kitts, and the West Indies generally, have done likewise and on Aug. 1, 1838, three-fourths of a million of human beings were, by law, restored to their birth-right by Nature.

ANTI-SLAVERY PUBLICATIONS.

☞ This pamphlet by no means includes selections from all the works extant on its theme, nor all that has been said by the authors quoted, from whom more ample extracts may be found in the larger pamphlet—"LIBERTY." With a few necessary exceptions, the "*Abolitionists*" of the present day have been omitted; those who wish to prosecute the subject are referred to the following Catalogue of their periodicals and publications.

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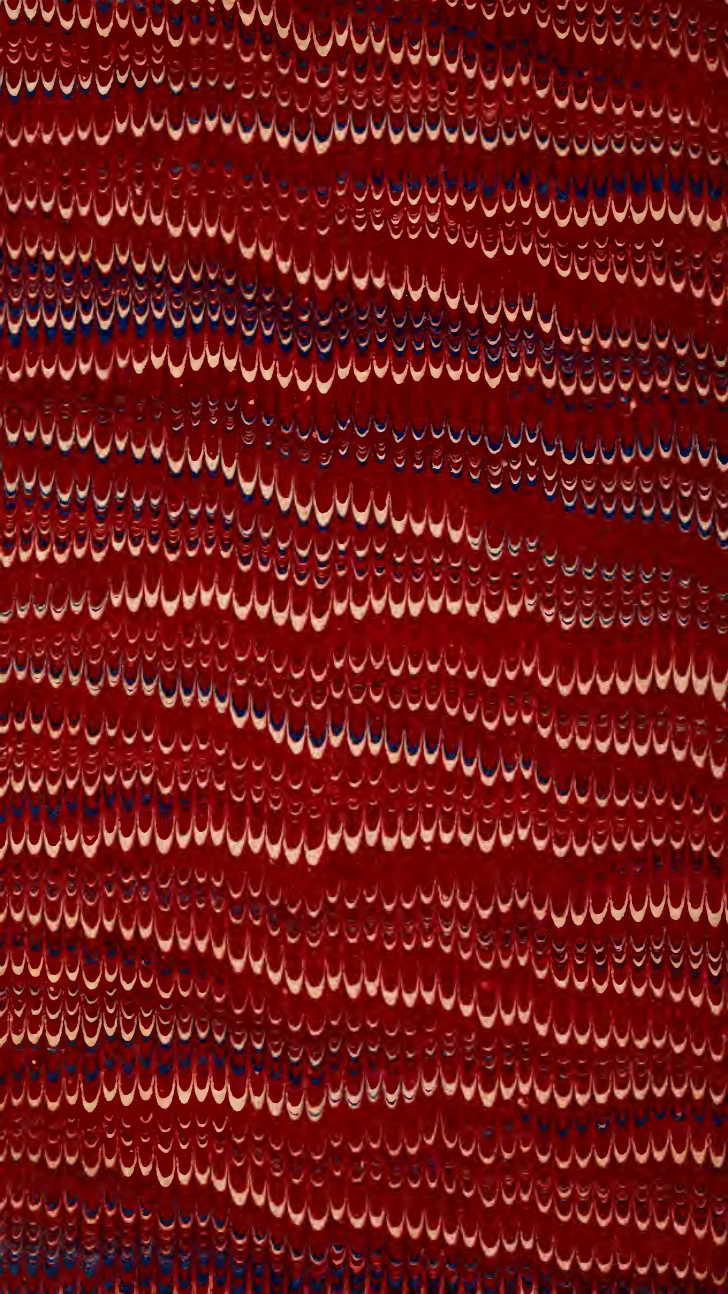
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